173 were their war talkers (inhulupuna'ya). And behind the house,
539 lying toward the south, they had what they called the tȧdjo. It
[361] was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle
their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

"And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they
173 met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was
539 called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until
796 evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited
it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited.
● They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obȧnga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obȧnga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obȧ'nga tcȧ'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obȧnga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting
539 the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which
796 they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if
526 two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the
meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

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[40b] See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.

[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.

[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546-614.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNl1 Creek NNl1

time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until 173
daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. 539
They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs.
The distance between them in either direction was two hundred 796
yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side 526
by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40a]

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, 173
and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some
time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] 539
was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40a] See pp. 456–466 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee [illegible] is the word meaning "gentle."

551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tȧstȧnȧgi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łȧkȧlgi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tȧstȧnȧgȧlgi Tȧstȧnȧk tcȧpko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tȧstȧnȧgi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ȧhȧ'lȧk tȧstȧnȧgi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti ȧtca'gȧgi (abbreviated into I'sti tcagȧgi)[78a] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It [571] was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

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[78a] See pp. 301-303.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Seminole NN16

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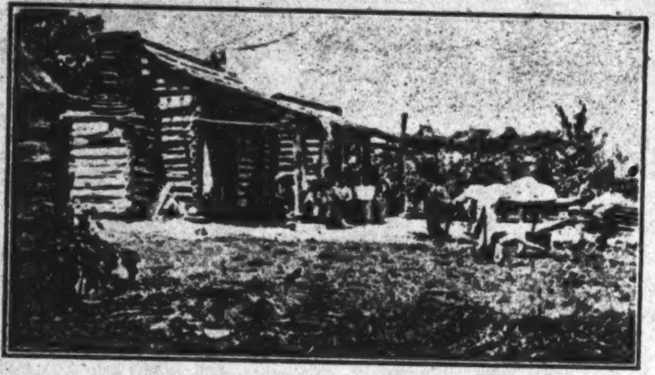

a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma

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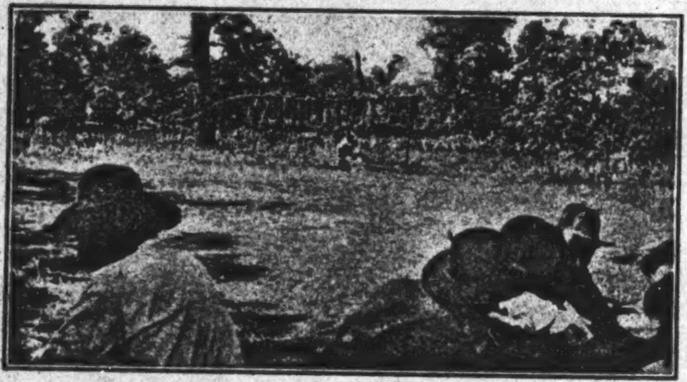

b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game

c. Ball players taking the medicine

CREEK CEREMONIALS

[facing p. 235]

624 625 failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tåstånågis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tåstånågi, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti åtcagågi as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[29] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

624 701 Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tåstånågi łåko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[30]

624 701 796 Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he was subjected when he was made tåstånågi is also worth reproducing. As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tåstånågi, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

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[29] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

[30] Milfort, Voy., pp. [illegible].

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ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[40]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

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[40] Evidently the ási.

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

624 701 796 "I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose.

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[41]

624 The imalas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imala was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imalas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tástánágis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imalas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tástánágis to be considered by them and all of the imalas in a separate council. The imalas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tástánágis, and performed the smaller services.

624 701 Below the imalas were the tásikayálgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tástánágis and imalas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name*."[42] It would seem, therefore, that the name tásikayálgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tásikayálgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibánágálgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians.

624 There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance

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[41] Milfort, Voy., pp. 220-228.

[42] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself. 721

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party: 726

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle*, *Mattle*, 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed 726 796

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[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 347.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a roisterer or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ma, "that"; ali "it is ended."

726 [796] holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, [785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts, but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

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[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

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In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783] "By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, 'till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . . 726 796

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4] 726 778

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

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[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless trader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 161–162.)

[4] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 159–161.

Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their 727
victory, and the conferring of new war titles:

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking noise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[11a] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo,* like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the 727
warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under 703
an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished 796
for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful
as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody

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[11a] See succeeding article, p. 511.

727 703 746 colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former."[12]

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[12] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 387-389.]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop.* When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

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[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 310.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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"The leader's *Hetissu*, or 'waiter,' placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

"The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

"They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[19] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

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[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohge.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 164-167.

[18] Ibid., p. 152.

[19] Ibid., p. 154.

[20] Ibid. p. 155.

"Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in 726
combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet.

"When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or 726
Tastanégy has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which 796
is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day.

"When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [tcokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

"At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

"The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

"The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[a]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

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727 [a] Elsewhere Milfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

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773 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

•796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

## SACRIFICES

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224 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. [illegible].

[94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456.

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

535 •796 With the Mikasuki, the Chiaha, and probably the Creeks generally, the bison dance was held just at sundown of the day of the busk, but while there was still light.[18a] The music was furnished by one drummer and one rattler. At the beginning these two men stood near the ball post and the dancers assembled there, the male dancers each carrying a cane. When all was ready the musicians walked into the yard between the beds and the dancers followed them in couples, two men and two women alternating. Then they danced around the fire until the three songs belonging to this dance, which were rather long, were finished. This dance was followed by the long or old dance.

535 The fox, ākitȧ, kinia, and skunk dances are said to have been danced exclusively by women. Jackson Lewis and Cook confirmed this for the Creeks so far as the fox dance is concerned and the chief of the Mikasuki asserted it for the skunk dance. Therefore the custom must have been fairly widespread. At least among the Alabama these dances were always in June, July, or August. Before the fox dance was held two men went all around the grounds to drive the dogs away, for, if any dogs should come in or any men except the two musicians, it would be unlucky. The two musicians, a drummer and a rattler, sat near the fire and they did all of the singing. One of the women acted as leader of the dancers and they went around the fire in sinistral circuit. The dance began slowly and increased in rapidity until it became very fast at the end. The two "dogwhippers" were provided with long sticks with needles, gar teeth, or crawfish claws at the ends, and, if a woman was slow or lazy in dancing, they reached these out and scratched her ankles. Sometimes old women performed this function. My informant himself never saw this, but he has often heard it described. The fox dance may have had some of the other features of the skunk and kinia dances.

The ākitȧ is said to be a small animal living in the woods and looking like a rat. Charlie Adams, my informant, has never seen one and the creature may be entirely fabulous. During this dance every woman carried in each hand a stick about 2 feet long. On the ends of each stick were four crane feathers of different colors—white, black, blue, etc. The leading woman and the last woman each had entire crane wings on the ends of their sticks. The women would dance around for a certain time sinistrally, and when the singer struck a certain note all turned about, the last woman leading, and danced around dextrally until the note again sounded. They danced twice each way in all.

The kinia is said to be an animal like the ākitȧ. In this dance the women started around sinistrally, and at certain beats stopped and danced where they were and then at other beats went on again and again stopped. This was repeated about ten times.

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[18a] See pp. 573-574.

535 turned around and danced backward facing the two men and then turned back again. There were two songs; a rattle only was used.

In the corn dance they went in two files, a man and a woman side by side. The rattle was used alone and there were six songs.

In the hair dance two women went together and then two men alternately. There were four songs and the rattle only was used.

In the chigoe dance men and women mingled, joined hands, and danced round the fire in single file. A rattle was used and one song.

The old men's dance was danced about the time when pokeweed berries are ripe—i. e., about the middle of October. Young men were usually the performers. They fixed themselves up in imitation of old-time Indians. Each wore a mask made out of a pumpkin, gourd, or melon, holes being cut for the eyes and mouth and the latter provided with teeth made out of grains of corn. A headgear was constructed out of leaf stalks of the sumac, the small ends of which were tied together and the body opened out and fitted over the head. Long earrings were fastened to the mask and a shawl thrown over the head behind. They stained the outside of the mask with the berries of the pokeweed (osá in Creek). Finally the performer fastened tortoise-shell rattles on his legs, drew a blanket round himself, and performed all sorts of antics to make people laugh. He carried a bow and arrows improvised for the occasion, pretended to see game, and did other things supposed to be amusing. The children were scared half to death with his performances and William Berryhill, one of my informants, well remembers how frightened he was at them. The dance was known also to the most of my other old informants.[10a]

Regarding the catfish, small frog, sheep, beaver, cow, crane, and wolf dances I have no information other than that they existed. In the mosquito dance the women played jokes on the male dancers by pricking them with pins. The buzzard dance is said to have been a very pretty affair, the arms of the dancers being spread out and made to flap like the wings of buzzards.

The drunken dance was used just before gatherings broke up. The people formed a circle, acted as if they were intoxicated, and gradually scattered backward into the bushes and disappeared. It is said to have been like the skunk dance.

## CEREMONIES

### Miscellaneous Ceremonies

•796 In the section on music and dancing I have spoken of the monthly ceremonies which early writers, including Bartram and Du Pratz, allege were performed by the southern Indians. This may be explained partly on the ground that social dances took place oftenest near the full of the moon. But, while most of the dances and feasts which I have described elsewhere can be explained as furnishing

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[10a] See p. 556.

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outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says: 796

"At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the Iris versicolor, which is a powerful cathartic."[29] [751]

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko. 574 [796]

"On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King's arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

"The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

"When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king's: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

"Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

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[29] Bartram, Travels, p. 454.

574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[2]

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Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

"As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with, and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated.

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[2] Bartram, Travels, pp. 233-235.

"The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle aged men, who perform the office of slaves or servants, pro tempore, come in together at the door, each having very large conch shells full of black drink, and advance, with slow, uniform and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, when they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripos or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or interesecting each other about midway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth, the slave utters or sings two notes, each of which continues as long as he has breath; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like a-hoo—ojah and a-lu—yah.[22] After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild cat or young tyger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattle-snake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbour's skin."[23]

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[22] Possibly intended for Yahola and Hayuya (see pp. 485, 544).

[23] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-452.

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

## CEREMONY OF THE ASI

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[22a] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

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[22a] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

272 783 throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (ási) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of ási to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the Yahola, a being described already, who with his companion Hayuya presided particularly over the square ground,[32] and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of ási and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

## MINOR CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE SQUARE GROUNDS

344 •796 The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the tcokofa.[33] The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the Okchai Indians, said that he had heard that the Alabama Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. Woksi mi'ko, a Hilibi Indian, had heard that, when the Okchai were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

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[32] See p. 465.

[33] See pp. 177-181.

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enemy, place it at the bottom of the hole prepared for the pole, and set the pole over it. While this operation was taking place the men engaged in it abstained from food—and probably went through some medicine ceremony—during seven days. Sanger Beaver, an old man of Tcatoksofka, the busk ground of which has long been given up, remembered seeing such a ceremony himself at a time when he was just old enough to take any notice of the customs of his people. He remembered that on one occasion, after they had cleared off the square ground and while they were still fasting, a great crowd of men went into the bottoms and cut down a very tall tree.[34] Without letting this fall to the ground they brought it to the busk ground and dug a hole for it. Then one of the henihas brought a human skull and deposited it at the bottom. They set the pole above this, and afterwards ran around it four times, shouting. Finally the man who had brought the skull climbed to the top of the pole and fixed there a wooden figure of a bird.

When beds were erected for a new ground those who had seats in each vied with one another to see which bed should be up first, and the party which won made great sport of the others as if they had won a ball game. The extra bed for the women and children was finished by all working together.

Big Jack, one of the leading Hilibi Indians, said that before establishing a new fire in the square ground after it had been moved they took some ashes from the old fire and buried them about a foot under ground in the place where the new fire was to be made. A doctor conjured these and repeated a formula over them as he put them in place. A small stone was also brought from the miko's bed in the old square ground and placed under the new one in the same manner. It was to show that the miko ought to be settled like a rock and a man of weight. The posts of the beds—which properly should be eight—particularly the front posts, had to be conjured and some hitci pákpági put into each post hole. The same informant added that all foundations must be started with hitci pákpági, which may therefore have been used under the ball post also. The removal of ashes from old to new fireplaces was confirmed by others and so was the use of hitci pákpági under the posts, but I heard nothing further about the stone. Two of the leading Coweta Indians and a Tulsa Indian said that under their old fire in Alabama the Coweta had a "can" of medicine supposed to contain the dried residue of the first medicine ever used in the old country. It was about an arm's length under ground. When they emigrated to Oklahoma this medicine was dug up, carried along with the emigrants and buried in the same way underneath the fire in the first busk ground on the Arkansas River. But when the square was again moved the medicine was not dug up, and it is supposed to be in the same place. These

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[34] He called it a cedar, but there seems to be some doubt on this point.

344 796 men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lutcapoga busk ground was laid out the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

### The Great Annual Ceremony or Busk

796 The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek poskita or boskita meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,[35] and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

796 773 Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,[35a] but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofánga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofánga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

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[35] See pp. 617-620.

[35a] See pp. 33-68.

796 773 As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tàl mutcàsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łałogálga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts."

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Tcatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechclout. A certain man among them meditated much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hàtki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofànga along with the miko hoyanīdja, the pasa, the sawàtcka, and the àsi, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

796 173 Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahchee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to

796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 621 619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

796 614 If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable:

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikino-bânga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others."[36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

796 642 621 619 But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atâsâ, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atâsâ posts

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[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atâsâ sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

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The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

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[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

[41a] See p. [illegible]

"Every spring season, one town or more of the Mississippi Floridians, keep a great solemn feast of love, to renew their old friendship. They call this annual feast, Hottuk Aimpa, Heettla, Tanaa [hâtâk ai-impa, hiła, tânaa], 'the people eat, dance, and walk as twined together.' [42] The short name of their yearly feast of love, is Hottuk Impanaa, 'eating by a strong religious, or social principle.' [43]

"They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from evening till morning. The men masque their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in a sufficient quantity of venison, for the feast of renewing their love, and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it; which a few springs past, was only a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush tied at the top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almost every day, and play for venison and cakes, the men against the women; which the old people say they have observed for time out of mind." [44]

The Creek year was divided, as explained elsewhere, into two seasons of six months each and the busk in July or August marked the beginning of the new year, from which they counted at least every event of a sacred nature.[45] Another division at right angles to this might, however, be made, into a ceremonial and nonceremonial season, the former from April to about October, the latter including the balance of the year. It is by no means certain that there were no regular public ceremonies during the strictly winter months, but no proof of their existence survives. On the other hand there is a very coherent account of the summer ceremonies and feasts, showing them to have extended in an almost unbroken series from comparatively early in the spring until late in the fall. I have a fairly clear outline of this from Mr. Ellis Childers, the last chief of the Chiaha before they gave up their busk ground, and a man of former prominence in the affairs of the Creek Nation.

"When the new moon at the end of April or beginning of May approaches the medicine man (hilis-haya) tells the miko to call his people.[46] He also tells the miko in what phase of the moon to send out. Immediately the miko sends a ta‘pala or ‘messenger’ through the town to notify everyone to meet at the square-ground that night. They gradually assemble during the day. After all is ready they generally dance the obânga hadjo until midnight, when the medicine-maker orders the miko to prepare for the next day. The miko then directs certain men to dig the medicine plants. That night the men sleep on the square ground, and next morning each medicine hunter goes to get the medicine he is to provide. The principal of these is the miko hoyanīdja. Others are the pasa, cedar, and a plant called hitū'tābi, ‘ice weed,’ about which ice accumulates on frosty mornings. Those medicines which consisted of the boughs of trees were taken from the east side. On their return these men lay each of the medicines in a certain designated place. Then officers appointed called ‘medicine mixers’ place all of the medicines except the pasa in one pot. All go into this at the same time except the miko hoyanīdja and cedar. Formerly there were four pots of medicine which were used at as many different times during the night; in later times only two pots were used.

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[42] Tâna means to knit, weave, or plait.

[43] There seems to be no especial religious connotation in these words.

[44] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 113-114. Cf. pp. 525-526, 555-556; 404 in preceding paper.

[45] Ibid., pp. 75-77.

[46] Hawkins says that the date of the Kasihta busk was fixed by the miko and his counselors.

"It should be mentioned that cedar twigs must be tied to the middle post of each bed in front, and sometimes such twigs are tied on the corner posts also.

"The miko hoyanīdja is tied into four bunches, a certain amount going into each. This is generally done by the diggers. The medicine mixers now take one bunch of miko hoyanīdja, wash it, beat the bark off, and put all into the pot containing the mixture. These men have entire charge of the handling of the medicine pots throughout. In the meantime two messengers of the chief called ta‘pala secure buckets and place them in front of those persons sitting on the beds who are to bring water. They must bring this from a running stream, and some of it is then added to the medicine in the pots. The medicine being now ready the medicine man takes a long cane and blows into it, usually four times, generally chanting as he does so. Then the chief usually stands up in his place, and one of the medicine mixers takes a bucket of medicine and a cedar bush. He dips the bush into the medicine and sprinkles a little over each bed and over the entire square ground. One bucket of medicine is set apart, and the medicine maker blows into this in the same way as before. Afterward, one of the medicine mixers goes through the same sprinkling process again, first calling up and sprinkling all those who have dug graves or handled dead bodies in any manner. Then each medicine mixer seizes a bucket, and they carry the medicine to each person present. About one or two quarts is given to each, and for this purpose each person is supposed to bring a cup; if he does not, a cup is supplied.

"After all have taken the medicine and vomited they wait a certain time and then the second bunch of miko hoyanīdja is mixed in, the pot being refilled with water. The medicine is then passed around again, and the same process is gone through four times in all during the day, once for each bunch of miko hoyanidja. Each time the medicine maker blows into the pot before it is distributed. The pasa is used but once and is the last drink of the day. It is slightly warmed over a little fire. Generally it is not mixed until after the medicine has been taken for the third time. Roots of the wormseed[46a] (wilana) are dug and many of them placed on a near-by bench. After the last drink they march out to the creek to bathe, and on the way each takes a few wormseed roots, chews and swallows a little, and rubs his head thoroughly with them, after which he dives into the creek four times. This completes the ceremonies for the day.

"During the intervals between the taking of the medicine the business of the town is attended to. In cases of misunderstandings and quarrels between persons or families the parties are questioned, either by the chief or by those whom he selects, generally persons from the henihas' bench, who finally determine which way the dispute should be settled. When the decision is agreed upon, the parties are called up and informed, and almost invariably they abide by this judgment.

"After they have returned from bathing the participants are allowed to eat, and in the evening after dark they are summoned to the square. A dance then begins in the ball ground to the southeast of the square ground, and they start with a song in which certain things are done at intervals in keeping with the words. Finally, at a particular, understood place, they march in around the fire in the square ground. A dance leader is now selected by the chief's messengers (ta'palas). Dances now follow each other, one after the other, all night, but at intervals the chief makes speeches, and he also invites good speakers who happen to be present to address the people. In that way good advice is given regarding the proper conduct of the rising generation and the proper way of living. It is the chief's duty to inform the people in this way of any occurrence which concerns his town. He imparts the messages which he has received from other towns, and which come through him, to his people. This assembly is thus an aid to government. Next morning the meeting breaks up and the people go home.

"At the next new moon the same performance is gone through. On the new moon after that a third meeting is held. On the morning of the day when this meeting opens all of the male members of the town are requested to be present in the square and the chief and a chosen number from each bed decide upon the date for the annual

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[46a] Usually but erroneously called "Jerusalem oak." I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the U. S. National Museum, for the correction.

•796 busk. Then a switch cane is split up into pieces about the size of a match, and bunches are made of these, each bunch containing as many sticks as there are days to the time of the great busk. Each is tied up with a buckskin string. One of these bundles is tied immediately over the chief's seat in the square. Each of the others is sent to one of the friendly towns—that is, those of the same fire clan—as an invitation to share with them in the annual busk. It is *immediately delivered to the town chief of that town by the ta'palas* appointed by the town chief.

"The fourth day before the date of the busk is known as 'camping day'; on this all must be encamped about the square ground. The next day is known as 'visitors' day' when all visitors are looked after and provided with camping quarters. The third day is known as 'the feast day,' on which food is kept prepared all day, so that one can help himself whenever he wants to. The day is generally passed in playing ball, either the men's game being played or the one-pole game between men and women. The fourth day is the 'busk day' in which medicine is taken. Medicine is gathered, mixed, and taken as already described for the stomp-dance. Up to the time of this busk the inhabitants of the town have been forbidden to eat certain vegetable productions, the principal of which is green corn, and from this fact is derived the term 'green-corn dance.' In case one has eaten green corn before this time, medicine is administered to him before the general medicine taking, and he is also scratched on the muscles of the arms and legs, four scratches being made with a one-pointed needle or one scratch with a four-pointed one. The scratches made were pretty deep. In olden times the snout of a garfish was employed exclusively.

"On the afternoon of 'visitors' day' friendly relations are shown by an exchange of tobacco. The people of the town giving the busk are seated on their beds, and the visitors, marching in, offer a piece of tobacco to each, beginning with the chief, saying at the same time 'Partake of this with me.' After they have taken it each of the town people, beginning with the chief, offers the leader of the visitors a piece of tobacco in his turn. This exchange has superseded the custom of smoking together, when a large pipe was filled with tobacco and passed from hand to hand. The order observed was probably N E S W, the chief sending around to the beds successively in this direction.[47] The chief of the visitors then took a pipe around in turn, beginning at the west bed where was the chief. All orders were given by the town chief to a ta'pala (who was not necessarily a heniha) and by him to the people. This pipe, therefore, was first lighted by the chief and by him given to the ta'pala to be carried along.

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[47] The correctness of this is doubted.

"On the morning of the 'busk day,' after breakfast and before the medicine has been prepared, the visitors return home. First, however, they march up in a line and pass the southeast corner; as they do so they wave their right hands in unison toward the square so as to take it all in and say apokatcges ayīpalās ('While you abide I will return'), a friendly expression. In reply the people of the town respond hō ('Yes,' 'All right,' or 'Very well').

"To make the fire, four green sticks are cut from tree limbs extending toward the east. These are known as 'the back logs' (tȧkhudji). To renew the fire they use the term to'hsoloti', 'to shove them in together.' Four roasting-ears are placed across the back sticks, as in Figure 108. Then kindling, hay, or other dry stuff is placed on top and ignited by rubbing two dry sticks lengthwise [?] over it. Fire can be started very quickly in this way. All the fires in the camps have meanwhile been put out, and this new fire is taken to them. It is used for the first time in cooking the first meal after the men break their fast. All disputes have now been settled by the henīhas and a new life begins.

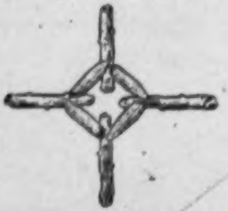

FIG. 108. — Arrangement of ears of corn on the fire sticks at the Chiaha busk

"After invitation sticks have been sent, anyone who fails to appear at the busk is considered disobedient to the chief, and on the morning when the busk breaks up the chief calls together the leaders of each bed and they make a list of all those who have failed to attend. Then a number of messengers (ta'pala) are sent to these individuals to collect a fine which is said to have amounted to $2.50 in cash. It is customary to send to each man someone of the clan to which he himself belongs. When the ta'pala arrives he seizes any animal the man may have that is eatable, kills it, and brings it back to the square. It has been agreed upon on what day the fines shall be brought to the square, and then a second feast is called to eat up these things.

"This feast initiates a series of games between the women and men, wherein a wager is made—generally between a man and his 'sister-in-law,' i. e., a woman who has married into his clan. The man wagers part of a deer, while the woman puts up a pot of blue dumplings, or some sofki, or both. This game is played once a week for three weeks, and after the third a day is set for the hunters to go out. A day for finishing the fourth game is also agreed upon between the parties who made the wager. At that time the deer or other game is brought to the square ground and delivered to the woman who made the wager, she being encamped there with other women to assist her. Among the things that they feast upon that day is a great pot of soup, and the feast is therefore called 'the soup-drinking feast.' This wager having been concluded another pair lays a wager in the same manner and the same games and feasts are repeated. The night of each of these feasts they generally dance all night, and commonly they have one every month. The town chief is present if possible, and if anything should keep him away, the second chief takes his place. This series of feasts generally extends through the warm weather until it begins to get cool, the latter part of September or the first part of October, and the season is closed by what they call 'the last dances.' One of these is known as 'the old men's dance,' and another is the 'wolf dance.' The first has been discontinued for a number of years, especially by the Chiaha, because all of those who were able to lead it have died. I saw only one and that when I was a boy. I can not give details regarding the conduct of it, but it is different from anything else I ever saw or heard of. As nearly as I can remember the men went off and dressed in masks, some representing bear, some wolves, panthers, or even cattle, bulls, etc., or perhaps a band of Indians of some foreign tribe. Others dressed in still other ways, but all appeared as very old people. They seemed to represent dramatically an event in hunting, an attack by some dangerous animal, and their conquest over it by means of their skill and experience as old men. A number of ceremonies took place in connection with this dance; women also took part. This dance was held in all of the Creek towns.[a]

"To dance the Wolf Dance the men rise very early on a day that has been previously fixed upon and meet at the square, each riding his best pony. The men who take part in this dance are principally the young men of the town. They then proceed to the nearest house, generally at full speed, yelling, whooping, and singing. On reaching the house, all dismount and they dance around it, their leader singing a song, the rest whooping and yelling in discord to represent the howling of wolves. Then the inmates set out some food, and each of the dancers rushes up and snatches a little of it and runs off with it. Having eaten this they proceed to the next house and the same thing is repeated. So they visit all of the houses in the neighborhood. Afterward they return home, but that afternoon all meet at the square and at night they have the dance. The dances that night, especially those begun after midnight, are different from the regular stomp dances. Among these are the horse dance, the duck dance, the chicken dance, the catfish dance, a dance called a 'double dance' in which there are two leaders, etc. Next morning just as the sun rises they close the season by dancing the 'drunken man's dance.' Meanwhile the chief is generally present to communicate the news, and the henihas are always about to compose differences."

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[a] For another description see p. 534.

This sequence is no longer preserved in anything like its ancient completeness, those feasts that follow the busk especially having dropped out of use, but the busk itself still (1912) holds on in about eleven towns not counting the Yuchi and in six Seminole towns. In some of these, for instance the Tukabahchee, the three stomp dances are kept up in some form, and in fact my most complete account of the three stomp dances and the busk is from Zachariah Cook, a former miko of Tukabahchee town. This is as follows:

"At the end of the busk the chief says to his people 'Go home and do the best you can, and next year when the moon is about at such and such a place I will send you the "broken days." When the time approaches, which is near the time of the new moon in April, he sends a bunch of seven little sticks to the head man in each neighborhood who throws one stick away each day, and leaves home so as to get to the square ground on the night of the seventh day. On the eighth they fast all day and tásikayas, under the supervision of the imalas, work for the hilis-haya (medicine maker), each getting four shoulder loads of wood. After that they are told to prepare for the all night dance. A man called itci yahola dances the war dance (paihka obánga, "whooping dance") with a scalp and a tomahawk. They give him a fawn skin and a ribbon and he is the leader in the women's dance. Owing to this fact the women plant his field for him—at least the two leaders of the women called tcukoleidji do so and sometimes the others help.[illegible] The same day they procure new brooms if any are needed. Then all are told to go and rest and abstain from eating. They take that time for the performance of necessary duties such as watering horses. Early that same morning four persons, two isti-átcagagi-sûlgas and two henihas, are sent to dig miko hoyanĭdja. The tconoh hola'ta is called up and sent with one of the henihas to get the cedar and other ingredients of the warm medicine. The medicine is placed at the north end of the west bed. Two youths are then called up to fix the medicine. They go for water, and after they have brought it put hitci pákpági in each pot as a foundation for the 'warm bath.' The rest of the ten medicines are piled upon this, and the whole is called adiloga or atiloga. Then they get rocks, pound up the miko hoyanĭdja and put it into another vessel side of the first. After that they get canes and straighten them and tell the hilis-haya that all is ready. They provide a deerskin for him to sit on and another for a footstool.

"The hilis-haya then blows into the medicines, and an old henĭha sitting close to him summons another, and they remove the pots, placing the atiloga on the north side by the fire and the miko hoyanĭdja just west of it. Then the old henĭha who was sitting by the hilis-haya gets one gourdful of each medicine and gives it to

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[illegible] At Tukabahchee and Kealedji this field was close to the northwestern edge of the square ground.

the miko and his henīha who lay it in the bed right back of them. The miko then summons the two youths who mixed the medicine and he and his henīha hand the gourds to them, after which they go round inside close to the beds, keeping the fire on the left, the isti-ȧtcagȧgi-sûlga in the lead, and they sprinkle the medicines toward the beds with their hands. This is to prevent the spirits of the dead from interfering. These gourds are then returned to the bed back of the miko. This circuit is performed four times during the night, the youths being called up each time for that purpose. Through his henīha the miko then summons the speaker who rises and shouts as loudly as he can for all the men to come inside of the grounds. All the women remain outside. Having assembled, the men are notified that they must fast that day, but that all who had handled the dead are to wait and take their medicine afterward. Then the medicine is taken in the following order: miko, speaker (yatika), miko's henīha, the other mikos, the two youths who sprinkled medicine, the Wind clan, tȧstȧnȧgȧlgi, imalȧlgi, isti-ȧtcagagi-sûlga, Bird clan, and the other clans down to the Panther and the Potato which is usually last. They take first the warm medicine and then the cold, and go afterward to vomit them out. Now the miko summons two ta‘pȧlas, a Raccoon and a Wind usually, though if necessary some other clan is substituted for the Raccoon, to manage the dance, and he tells them to choose a dance leader to keep the dance going. This is done while the drinking is still going on so that by the time it is over the miko can call out 'There is a dance leader over yonder.' When this leader starts all get out and help him, and after they have danced the common, or 'stomp' dance (sătkita obȧnga) four times the women come in with rattles on their ankles and prepare to dance. When they get a little tired of the common dances they may take up special dances such as the gar dance, buffalo dance, quail dance, duck dance, etc. The hīnȧtȧ dance is a very pretty one and so are the quail and horse dances. If they can get a capable singer who knows them they may dance these special dances all night; otherwise they keep on with the common dance. Finally a time is set for the second 'stomp' dance which proceeds in the same manner. The third dance is a big dance.

"At that dance a council is held by the isti-ȧtcagȧgi-sûlga as to whether they will remodel their square ground, and if they decide to do so they set a time in the fall, perhaps in September, for carrying on this work. If the hot house is to be fixed up a time is also set in September. The same men are called in to arrange for the busk. They go over the entire program, one saying 'I will do this,' another 'I will do that,' and so on. Then they say 'We will meet ten days from tomorrow.' When they do meet they say 'We will meet in five days,' but they count in the day on which they make the arrangement and also the day of meeting at the end, therefore there are only three whole days between. At that meeting they say 'We will meet in three days,' but one day intervening; and then they say 'We will meet in two days,' meaning the next. Finally they say 'We will meet in one day,' but they mean the very same day, so they simply go back home and then return, clear the ground off, and prepare the 'broken days,' of little canes, seven to the bundle, a bundle for each neighborhood. The messenger who delivers these pulls one stick out and throws it away, and afterward the head man at that place does the same each day until the time has arrived. When this distribution of sticks is made, they send a bundle to every fire of the same fire clan. The Atasi used to come down and busk with the Tukabahchee until the last dance, the women's dance, when they took some of the medicine which had been prepared for them and carried it back to their own women, who finished the dance. The Kēaledji simply sent two men to Tukabahchee for the new fire, which they carried home in a pot, putting new fuel in this from time to time until they got back. The Łapłáko used to do like the Atasi, but later they got a hilis-haya of their own and tried to have their own ceremonial, but they soon gave it up. The Łiwahali also brought their fire from Tukabahchee. Hilibi and Eufaula acted more or less together and had their own fires. This was in late times.

"The day of the last meeting when the ground was cleared the leaders of the women, the tcukolaidji, came to the ground and sat on a small bench in a cleared space in the southwest corner. They helped some in clearing the yard except their own space which they did not touch.

"On the fifth day of the seven all the people are supposed to be at the busk ground. On the night of the fifth the miko appoints a man of the Deer clan, which is a 'choice clan,' as an 'orderly' (lā'ta mi'kági) to manage the women's dance. He brings him in and puts him next to the post at the south end of the center section of the Chiefs' bed. The same night the miko empowers two youths to call in the small boys, who come into the square and have a jolly dance in which women and girls also join. While this is going on the 'orderly' calls up the itci yahola and a heniha. A cane a yard long is given to each and they are sent to see how the preparations of the women for the dance next day are advanced and whether leaders have been selected, so that everything will be ready that night. After that four singers have to be called up, the ones who are to sing for the women next day. These singers have a waiter (saogadjilaia) who prepares the gourds, wraps their handles with hickory bark, etc., and places them in the back part of the youths' bed so that they may be ready in the morning. The 'orderly' then calls up a speaker and instructs him what he is to do and after that a drummer. By this time it is 10 or 11 o'clock at night and the women and young people go home, while the men stay on the busk ground, inside of the beds or around the ceremonial post, and sleep there.

"Very early on the following morning the 'orderly' prepares a little pot of mikō hoyanīdja and places it in a little entrance between the center posts at the back of the Chiefs' bed. A little hitci pȧkpȧgi is put into it first as a 'foundation,' the miko hoyanīdja and water are added, and finally the hilis-haya blows into it. Then the 'orderly' summons the itci yahola and henīha who had gone out before, gives each a little piece of tobacco, and tells them to go and ask the women to hasten. They go around four times to call them. If they still delay, these officials stand upon a little mound belonging to the women at the southwestern angle and shout to hurry them. The leaders of the women and the male officials fast. The women are dressing during this time, and they drift in to the rallying place until 10 or 11 o'clock. The man who prepared the gourd rattles has to move them (the rattles) to the end of the Panther bed. One of the henīhas is also sent to get the small pot of miko hoyanīdja and set it down in the little yard at the southwest corner, where the women take it and put it on their turtle-shell rattles and other paraphernalia. There are three leaders for the women, but there could be a fourth and probably that is the proper number. The leaders are a Raccoon, a Wind, a Panther (and a Bird). When they are ready the first woman, carrying her rattle, goes a short distance and stops; then woman number two follows her example and the same with woman number three who leads the crowd. Meanwhile, the miko has been calling the same two men repeatedly, giving them tobacco and sending them to hurry things up. The gourd rattles are put overhead in the Panthers' bed in front, then moved to a position close to the corner post, and again to the center of the Panthers' bed where the singers can reach them.[40] The speaker and singers also have to be ordered up. Meanwhile the women have to be drilled and prepared, and the itci yahola is called over to the Chiefs' bed to receive a deer skin and ribbons. Four dog-whippers are appointed for the corners of the square. Before the women come in the speaker gives orders to the drummer, who is out on the tȧdjo, a mound of earth back of the warriors' cabin, to beat his drum and at the fourth beat the men have to be in their places. A little basket is set down in front of the speaker, and he tells the women to bring small pieces of tobacco and throw them into it. Then he gives them a lecture, advising them to be silent, respectful, not too vulgar, etc. The Tcunuk hola'ta is called over, receives a paddle-shaped stick, and, following instructions, makes a circular mark on the ground in front of the east end of the Panthers' bed, and a large circle around the fire. The former is the place where the leading woman is to stand and the large circle indicates where the rest are to range themselves. The speaker now calls the itci yahola who remains standing facing the north until he has been called twice. A fawn skin and ribbon are behind the miko and he hands them to the speaker who hands them in turn to the itci yahola standing to receive them. Holding these he goes through the circle of women and around some bushes which are set up in a circle about the fire, calling the yahola cry as he goes and holding his breath all the way around. When he gets back he says 'yux yu' as a mark of respect to the chief and then takes his seat. His henīha follows and takes his seat. The women dance two rounds, go out and rest, and then their leaders go out and bring them in for two more rounds.

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[40] Here the singers sit in the Panthers' bed; at Hilibi they sit on the end of the Raccoons' bed.

"The miko next gets an īmała łȧko and an īmała łȧbotski. In the first or second verse of a song, at least at a certain place in it, these īmałas run out and shout to the warriors 'Go and get the tea brush (ȧsi sȧbɔnga)' meaning the brush with which to kindle the fire. All of the warriors then go for it. Now the henīha is told to call the fus isȧ 'to go and get the hickory bark,' meaning the punk with which the fire is started. Another henīha accompanies him, and they go out at the third or fourth verse (or song). Next four men are called up to get the four back sticks. They are instructed to secure sticks with the tops already broken off and such as they themselves can break off to a length of about four feet. These are placed at the end of the bed of the henihȧlgi. Six or eight youths are sent for the pasa and the same youths are sent again for the miko hoyanīdja. The dance is now over and they retire for that day. The people who remain have a ball game after dinner and a big time generally, and that night they have a jolly dance and afterward all retire, the men sleeping inside of the busk ground. The same night a man is selected to be captain over the young men and keep watch of them. The miko summons him next morning and tells him to assemble the youths and move the ashes of the old fires. From ten to fifty youths then set to work and soon have the ashes removed. Then the miko directs the leader to have them bring a lot of sand, which they move on boards, in their hands, or in any other way, and spread over the fireplace, covering a circle perhaps five feet in diameter. Then they are sent after more sand which they take out and spread back of the henihas' bed, on the site of the old hot house. If a little is left over it is put in front of the hilis-haya's place for the copper shields to rest upon. (From this point on the ceremony has now been modified. The older form which continues from here will be found on pp. 564-568.)

"Now the fire maker (tŏtki dĭdja) gets some blossoms of hitci pȧkpȧgi. The night before the miko has called eight or more isti ȧtcagȧgi in person saying 'So-and-so, you must wake up in the morning early,' to each in turn. These men may call in some young fellows to help, and early in the morning they spread out a deer skin, lay down punk, and light a fire with flint and steel. In more ancient times they made a fire by rubbing two sticks together. The deer skin is on the seat on the north (or rather northwest) end of the Henīhas' bed. After the fire has been fed with a little bark most of it is removed from the skin, and what is left is used to kindle a little fire near the same end of this bed. Meantime the hilis-haya has made a cross-mark in the center of the square, the ends pointing toward the entrances between the cabins, and at the end of each and at the center he sets a piece of hitci pȧkpȧgi. The henīha is right behind him with four pieces of bark on which is fire and he places these in the center of the marks. The hilis-haya now goes and gets one of the four back sticks, conjures it, and sticks a little hitci pȧkpȧgi in the outer end of each. Then he lays it down pointing toward the west (or southwest) bed, just south of the line extending toward the west entrance. He then gets another stick, does the same with it, and places it toward the south (or southeast) bed. He does the same with the other two sticks, proceeding round the fire contra-clockwise. When all are in place he brushes one hand over the other with an outward sweep as a sign that the job is finished. Next lines are drawn, hitci pȧkpȧgi put in, and fire started on the site of the hot house, but no sticks are laid there. Finally the firemaker's henīha builds the small extra fire above mentioned at the end of the Henīhas' bed. A little pot of wormseed is now prepared in front of the Henīhas' bed, the hilis-haya blows into it, and moves it out to the third fire at the west end of the Warriors' bed.[50] It is placed near the fire there. The Wind clan, the henīhas, sat at the north end of the west or Chiefs' cabin, in what is ordinarily called the Chiefs' bed. This part of the cabin is called the Henīhas' bed.

"Eight roasting ears provided in advance are placed on the north end of the Henihas' bed by the post. The husks of four are stripped back and tied together and they are hung overhead between the beds of the henihȧlgi and mikȧlgi. The oldest henīha brings the other four ears to the place where the medicine was prepared. The miko then gives the hilis-haya some hitci pȧkpȧgi, and the hilis-haya takes an ear of corn, blows on a blossom of hitci pȧkpȧgi and sticks it into one end of the ear. He lays this ear side of the back stick pointing to the west (toward the Chiefs' bed). He goes around the fire and comes back to the place from which he started. Then he treats the ear for the south stick and the ones for the east and north sticks successively in the same manner. Finally he rubs one hand over the other to show that the work is completed.

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[50] Or "the north end of the Henīhas' bed"; my notes give it both ways. It is in the same entrance way in either case.

"Now two ĭmałas are called who go out and notify the different camps to come and get the new fire. While they are doing this the medicine is being made. The captain of the youths is told to get them and go after the medicines. The oldest henīha already referred to as sitting by the post puts down a pounding-block with a deer skin over it for the hilis-haya to sit upon. It is placed right back of the medicine pots. The old henīha and a young boy of the henīhas now bring two pots for the medicine. They also bring up all of the pasa and all of the miko hoyanīdja, but they select out of this for the hilis-haya four pasa plants and four sticks of miko hoyanīdja. The hilis-haya now goes to the block covered with the deer skin and sits upon it. He lays a rock in front of him and uses another as a mallet. Then he takes one plant of pasa first, blows upon it, repeating some formula meanwhile, gives it one blow to break the roots off, and puts these into the pot. He does the same thing to the rest of the pasa and to the miko hoyanīdja. The captain of the youths is now told to summon them and have them pound up the rest of the medicine and put it into the pots, which they do. The youths have already filled the pots with water.

"Now all retire and it is quiet for a space. On the morning of this day the little boys' busk is 'destroyed,' i. e., they cease to fast.

"Now the miko summons two waiters previously selected, one from the Raccoon clan and one fron the Wind clan. He tells them to go out, fill two pots about eight inches across with medicine, and serve this to the men assembled in the square. He has already given instructions what order to observe and who are not to be served until the last because they have touched a dead body or for any other reason. The warm pasa is given first and then the cold miko hoyanīdja. The miko and the other occupants of the central section of the Chiefs' bed are served first, then those at the south end right down to the Bird clan, then the henihălgi at the north end of the Chiefs' bed, then the tăstănăgis and ĭmałas in turn, i. e., those in the Warriors' bed from west to east, then those in the south bed from west to east, and finally those in the east bed from south to north. All those in the back seats come to the front unless some have to wait because they have dug a grave or something of the sort. The waiters drink last. Those who had eaten roasting ears of the same season already had to wait for their medicine until the others were through. Meanwhile a youth has been sent out after a pot of wormseed which is placed in front of the hilis-haya and as soon as the other medicines have been taken he blows into it. Each person then takes a little of it, chews some, and smears some on his body. They say this is 'to wash the head with.' Finally they go down to the creek headed by the miko and dive beneath the water four times. This ends the busk.

"In the morning while the above ceremony is taking place the boys are again summoned and sent for miko hoyanīdja and the ten medicines used in the stomp dance. They take their busk medicine, which has been left for them on the bed of the henihálgi, when they come back. The stomp dance medicine is placed near the fire and taken there and they dance the stomp dance all that night until dawn.

"Next day the people lounge around, sleep, or play ball if they want to, but all come in that night for another jolly dance. On that morning thay have broken their fast. During this day a council is also held, and the miko sends word to the tástánági that there will be a hunt next day, so all come up in the morning prepared for it. After the third drum beat all must be ready with their horses, and then they go out to some place where they think there will be good hunting. If they kill anything they leave it at the end of the Henīhas' bed; if they are unsuccessful, they say to the head tástánági 'We did not get anything,' and he reports to the miko.

"Next morning a piece of beef is brought; the hilis-haya blows upon and conjures this and puts it into the very center of the fire. Presumably this is to purify the people and insure them health, and also to feed the fire or some being in or through it. About noon the women dance in the same order as before, and this is also a day of feasting. The day after they fast all day, take their medicine as in the stomp dance, and dance all night. Before day the head tástánági addresses them telling them to behave well, that they have had a good time together and must not feel disturbed if their property has become injured during their absence. The miko then tells them to meet at such and such a time when the moon is at such and such a place, and they all go home.

"The above is an account of the later form of the busk at Tukabahchee, but in earlier days it was amplified in several particulars. The older form was identical with the above up to the appearance of the copper shields. From there it proceeds differently. The shields are carried out just at daylight by a squad of youths including one of the isti-átcagágis and one of the henīhas, or an even number of each—under the direction of the youths' captain. They proceed two at a time, those in advance each carrying a brass shield, and those behind each one of the pointed copper objects until there is a long procession. Proceeding to the creek before the fire is made they wash and scour them and carry them back. Then they hand them to the miko who lays them down in front of the hilis-haya. In addition to the regular pots of miko hoyanīdja four others are conjured, after which the henīhas carry one to each bed and put it up in the center inside overhead. Then all are told to go and see about their horses, attend to other necessary duties, and come back again. A number of the isti-ȧtcagȧgi remain, however. Meanwhile the boys have been sent out to get the ȧsi, which two men are appointed to parch. Then eight men come out and the miko has strings of beads put on the necks of four of them, who upon receiving these go back to their seats. A henīha gets the ȧsi and lays it down by the other medicines. The ȧsi looks like red haw. It is put into a pot and one of the boys appointed to do the parching stands on each side. Each holds a long paddle and stirs slowly. There is no water in the medicine until it is entirely parched, when water is poured into the pot to fill it up. It is then dipped up and strained back into the same pot through a basket strainer. All this is done with a regular rhythmic motion, and two men lying in the center of the east bed, an isti-ȧtcagȧgi and a Panther, sing a slow, doleful song and shake their old gourds.

"It is now getting on toward noon. While the parching is proceeding the leader of the men who are going to carry the shields gets out near the medicine house and whoops twice. Then the eight men previously summoned, four of whom have probably returned their beads to the miko by this time, go out into the square and form two lines of four each extending from north to south on each side of the fire, facing the fire and with two leaders at the south end. The miko's henīha and another then go and fill their gourds or little pots with ȧsi which they then carry to the benches, and serve all those entitled to receive it, beginning with the miko and the other principal men. Each henīha crosses to the man immediately opposite to the one that his companion faces. The hilis-haya meanwhile is between the two lines near the fire. When the man who is served raises the pot to his lips the waiter shouts 'hwa-u-u-u' (the yahola cry), extending the sound as long as he can hold his breath, and when he is through the other takes a sip, spits it out, and hands the pot back to the waiter who then proceeds to the next man. After they have been round, what is left is taken to the hilis-haya. The hilis-haya and the old tȧstȧnȧgi (tcilaleiga?) have ladles with which they dip out the rest of the medicine until it is all gone, a fact which each announces. Then more ȧsi is parched and the man near the medicine house shouts two times more. This medicine is drunk like the first, and then the word is given to hurry, upon which the two men who have been singing and shaking their rattles run out toward the man in charge of the shields and the three pass around the tȧdjo mound and back into the square on a 'dog-trot.' Then the miko takes the shields and plates and distributes them to the eight tȧstȧnȧgis who stand in line to receive them. The leader of the Īmala lȧbotcki orders them out, and each goes and gets a cane with a feather on the end of it. Th two men who had lain in the northeast bed singing dance slowly out of the north entrance, round the tȧdjo mound and in again at the west entrance while the warriors and younger men dance round and round them faster all the way. They make this circuit four times, and the warriors and young men dance until the two old men have taken their seats. This dance is called the 'long dance' or the 'long whoop.' The feathers are fastened upon the canes used at this time by members of the Bird clan who have received orders that morning from the tȧlsȧ miko. The eagle feathers are placed near the kosi miko in the Beaver bed, and crane feathers at the end of the bed of the Bird clan. After that all retire until the evening.

"That evening the eight waiters start out at the northwest (or west) exit shouting 'yuayux,' the last man saying at intervals 'wȧtȧgu' (or natȧgu'?). They go all the way round on the outside until they come to the northeast bed and say 'I found nothing, I found nothing.' Then the isti-ȧtcagȧgi in that bed, who have set out a little gift of tobacco for them, shout 'hitci laiktci" ('here is tobacco'). They repeat the same performance at each bed, and they make the circuit four times in all. They are called the 'tobacco beggars' and act as if they were spies or guards. Those fasting eat nothing and touch no women or anybody and the speaker gives the word to keep silence. That day is their 'sabbath.'

"Orders are issued that all the men return to the grounds before night, and there is a men's stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted. First they will perhaps dance 'the long dance,' with the feathers but without the shields. The shields lie on the bed of sand prepared for them all day until the morning of the day on which meat is put into the fire when they are returned to their usual place. During this time outsiders may look in from beyond the limits but none may come inside. Very early next morning a man is heard coming from the eastward whooping in the distance. By sunrise he gets behind the southwest bed and enters by the south entry. This is the itci yahola, who wears beads, leggings, a fancy hatchet, and four tufts of hair, like scalps, on 'the rim of a cap.' While he dances the tcukoleidji (women leaders) sing for him, beginning before he enters. These tcukoleidji used to sit in the Alligator bed at this time, but, the Alligator clan having died out, they were later in the Panthers' bed. While this man is dancing the warriors, assembled by command back of the Warriors' bed, divide into two parties, get out bows and arrows and pistols and act as if they are going to fight. Then the women and the two old men who sang when the ȧsi was being parched move out to the tȧdjo mound, stopping a few minutes at the Alligator bed on the way, and singing all the time. The itci yahola dances

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around with his scalp headdress and tomahawk; he approaches in this way the north entrance where he is met by two other men, one of whom carries a gun. They and the two men on the tádjo mound sing responsively for a while. Meanwhile an image made of weeds has been placed half way between the tádjo and the north entrance, and when the singing is finished the man with the gun shoots at it and the one with the tomahawk runs up to it and pretends to scalp it. Upon this all the warriors (including the tcukoleidji) rush in together, first around the tádjo and then into the square, part dancing round in the usual manner and part in reverse, shooting off their guns and making a great noise. Then they all stampede down the hill to the creek and all are supposed to dive into the creek four times, though usually the women merely dash the water into their faces. This is the 'gun dance.' Then they (the tcukoleidji) will run back and catch some visitors and make them carry a log or something of the kind. There were eight or ten tcukoleidji, two being leaders. This ceremony is finished early in the day, and during the remainder of the day they lie about and rest. In the evening they have a little fun by dancing the dumpling dance, using the feathered sticks that were employed before, some having eagle feathers and some crane feathers.

"That same night orders are given to go hunting on the following morning. The men remain inside of the grounds every night; they may eat fresh sofki, fresh bread or honey or molasses, but no meat until the fourth morning. The morning after the gun dance they go hunting and the morning after that the meat is put into the fire as already related. This finishes the conjuring of the fire. Then the wormseed is used, they bathe in the creek, and 'the busk is destroyed.'

"The women dance that night and then they dance the 'old dance,' after which the men attend to their horses, and do any other necessary work. Next day they fast all day and have a stomp dance at night, and the morning following the miko makes them an address, tells them to be good, etc., and says 'When the moon is so and so you will hear from me.' Then they eat breakfast and go home.

"If any of the warriors does not come to the busk they afterwards send to exact a fine from him, or, if he is within reach, the first day they go out hunting they go and see what they can get from him. If a man stayed away from the busk persistently his seat might be declared vacant and a young man selected to fill it. This regulation applied to the other Creek towns as well. In later times whiskey was not allowed on the grounds and if any one brought it he was subject to a severe fine.

"Anciently two orderlies were sent around among the camps to see whether any of the young men who should be fasting had broken the bounds and gone off into the woods to sleep or to have intercourse with women." According to my informant such offenders were almost always found out.

Some say that anciently the Tukabahchee had to busk before all other Creek towns. As we have seen, Atasi, Łiwahali, and Łapłako used to go to Tukabahchee in later times to get their medicine; the Kealedji only sent for fire and returned the next morning while the rest remained and finished the busk with the Tukabahchee. It is said that Alabama and Hilibi were formerly attached in the same manner but became separated in course of time. In the same way Coweta and Eufaula are said to have busked together at one time.[51] Any stranger who once took medicine at Tukabahchee had to take it there for four successive years before he could take it anywhere else. These statements were made by a very old Indian, but for the most part they represent not an ancient condition but a later readjustment, after some of these towns had begun to fall off in numbers.

Earlier descriptions of the Tukabahchee busk, mostly confirmatory of the above though showing certain variations, are given by Stiggins and Hitchcock, the latter apparently mainly on the authority of James Islands. Stiggins says:

"I have made frequent mention of their celebration of the anniversary of the New Corn Crop, called by them *Booske tah*, as much as to say 'sacred purifying' which is the only thing wherein I ever saw them act as though they paid adoration to the all supreme. They seem even when they are preparing to go to the festival to solemnize their minds and actions as a devout person would enter a church to worship, and it is evident that originally it must have had great weight even in their political movements, for it will, after its celebration, stop the proceedings against any offender where life and death is not concerned, and stealing is not exempted. All other misdemeanors pass into oblivion, and a new score is begun for the ensuing festival. The Cowassawdays hold one festival more than the rest of the nation as they annually celebrate the coming of the new crop of beans with the same ceremonies as they do the festival of corn.[52] I have made a small digression from the point in [detailing] the order of their festival. I shall proceed to it in as accurate a manner as I can by saying that when the head men of a town see that the town or public corn is full in the ear and fit for use they set a day and inform the town people when the sacred festival is to commence.

"Before the day arrives they nominate some of their *emathlahs*, which word means 'gone at his bidding,' to boil their physic that they drink and bathe in in order to purify themselves, and of their most respectable chiefs they nominate three to officiate in the duties of the time as sacred priests or doctors. They then send some of the *emathlahs*, to gather a bush that acts as a quick and powerful emetic; they call it *micco ho yan ejah*. It is a 'kings cathartic.' They break enough to last the festival out. The bush is very much like the low myrtle bush in appearance but bears no berries. When the appointed festival day arrives all the town people put out their fires and repair to the town house or square when they commence the sacred festival. They have particular songs and dances for it; they dance during the festival at intervals. Their singers are generally some men of eminence invited from some other town as proficient singers, and they take it as a mark of distinction to receive an invitation for that purpose. After all have congregated they select men to boil physic, and those nominated to officiate as sacred men make a fire out of the public way so that they may not be polluted by the touch of an unpurified person during their strict penance, as they account their person sacred during their sacred and purified office. They proceed to boil their *a wo teach caw* [sawȧtcka] which is an emetic. After it is thoroughly boiled the three men selected for the sacred office take it after it is put into large cooling pans of clay manufactory, and prepare it for drinking and bathing. Each man takes a pan and sets it before him and commences the process of cooling, having his head covered over and the joint of a cane in his hand. During the time they each sing a song of requests and thanks in a low under voice to the giver or taker of breath called *saw ga emisse*. In every interval the singer sticks his cane joint into the pan of *awa teach caw* and blows the virtue of said song of requests into the pan of physic in a most solemn manner, so that therewith it might operate in good to them that drink thereof. It is a quick and rapid emetic and drank for that purpose by all the men, and nearly all the women wash their children with it; the Creek Indians have no variation in their annual celebration of the new crop of corn, having particular songs and dances for the festive purpose. The commemoration in every town holds two days in the minor village towns, not including the first day. The Tuckabahchee town being the metropolis of the nation has a variety of show in their solemn feast; they continue it for six days. It is attended always by a large congregation who resort there to see and be seen.

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[51] Yet, according to another informant, the Eufaula formerly got their fire from Kealedji.

[52] Could this be the same as that held to "sanctify the mulberries?" (See p. 550.)

"During their six days of *Boos ke tah* neither those set apart for doctoring or physic making, nor such as are appointed to show the strict rule or penance necessary on the occasion, make use of anything to eat or drink but the consecrated emetic of which they take profusely every day of the festival. They neither speak to nor touch a woman during said time as such a procedure would inevitably ruin their thanksgiving song, and instead of a blessing involve destruction,

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not only to the offender but to the community at large; nor will they shake hands with nor touch an unpurified friend during the time of their officiating. The whole festival is conducted with a grave, superstitious solemnity to the last day. On the last day they take out and exhibit the afore-mentioned six brass or breast plates. They are carried around by three men, one in each hand, in that day's dance. With much superstitious awe said plates are kept under the care of two men always, and after their exhibition in the dances they are laid in the depository, which is under the seats that uphold the mats that the kings sit on, in their part of the council square. It is said that three of said brass plates have hieroglyphic signs on them, whilst others say that they could trace Hebrew characters in a circle in the central part of the three oval ones. As they are scoured and burnished every year before they are exhibited no doubt the characters are nearly defaced. Their traditional account of how they came by them is that they were thrown or handed down by the *Giver or Taker of Breath*, viz. *Saw ga Emisse*, with an assurance to them that so long as they used them undefiled in their festivals no people could divest them of their festival ceremonies or country. On the same day they exhibit their manner of attack in warfare; several effigies are brought and placed about in the square to be attacked in a hostile manner by men appointed for the purpose, who, to show their skill in coming on their enemy by stealth, come on the effigies with all imaginable caution as though unperceived by them as an enemy. When they get near the square they all at once raise the war scream and charge on them, shoot, tomahawk, and scalp them, and though pursued by others they make their escape as they would in actual attack. As many have passed their time fasting it is necessary to eat of the new corn, and as all things in their political life have a new beginning, it is necessary to have new fire with which to cook their corn and other eatables, so that morning four men are appointed to the duty. Each takes a block with a small incision in it and a round stick and apply it in the indenture of the block and roll it to and fro in the palms of their hands until it takes fire by the friction. There is great expression of joy when the new fire is made; every family in the town and even adjacent townspeople take the new fire home to use in cooking during that year.

"In the course of the festival and usually at night in intervals for rest the young men are divested of their given name that they had from infancy and invested with what is called a war name by which they are known for the rest of their lives. It is done thus. Previous to the ceremony of naming the name that he is thereafter to assume is intimated to the young man by one of the kings or warriors, for either can give names. When the time arrives for the cremony one of the kings or warriors rises from his seat and calls the name in a

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shrill, long tone of voice. At the call the young man rises, picks up the war club or mallet called by them *attussa* and goes forth to him, when he informs the new man that he is now named as other men and he now can assume the manners and customs of other men. He then puts a feather on his head and when that is done the newly dubbed man raises his war club above his head, starts a long whoop, and runs round in a circle to the place from which he started and when he stops he cries 'youh youh.' From that time on he is a man with a name. After the *Boos ke tah* it is known that all light offenses are past into oblivion."[53]

Hitchcock's account runs thus:

"At the season of green corn, usually in July, the chiefs of the town meet and have a talk with their people about the Green Corn Dance. At this meeting they give orders to make the pots and other utensils needed, except those which are sacred. Some of the sacred utensils have been handed down [from] time immemorial. They meet again in seven days, again four days afterwards, and then again in two days. At these several meetings they give orders for preparations, appoint persons to procure wood, others to procure cane, etc., etc. At the fourth meeting they give out the 'broken days' for the Busk, seven from the day they give notice, or six not counting the day when the notice is given.

"All persons on the fifth night are ordered to encamp in the vicinity of the Square. On the sixth day all the women, dressed in full costume loaded with ornaments, dance for about three hours in the middle of the day. There are men appointed to watch them and if anyone leaves the dance without a good excuse, as sickness or other sufficient cause, she is deprived of her ornaments which are confiscated and she does not return. A certain number of women are appointed to conduct the dance and these are not allowed to eat until after the dance is over and they have bathed in the branch or creek. Before the dance these conductors are covered with what is called medicine, some sacred preparation, and this must be washed off before they can eat. The night of the day on which the women dance the men and women dance together. This is a friendly, familiar dance without particular preparation or ceremony. The day following, that is the sixth day [but the first of the regular ceremonial days], is a sacred day and the men fast all day, and during the day they take a medicine prepared from an herb that operates like a powerful emetic. On this day, the sixth, the sacred fire is made in a small house in a corner of the Square. The twelve persons appointed for this purpose remain all of the preceding night in the square and at early dawn[54] they commence a frictional process, rub-

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[53] Stiggins, Ms.

[54] Elsewhere he says "at the crowing of the cock in the morning."

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bing a piece of cane in decayed wood with great velocity until the wood ignites. Sometimes it requires many hours for this.[58] The persons appointed for the purpose then prepare, over the fire, the medicine (emetic) with which the men cleanse themselves. During the day only those who take this medicine and those having duties there by appointment are allowed to enter the square.

"On the same day (the sixth) the sacred plates and other holy utensils are taken by persons appointed for the purpose from the places where they have been preserved, unseen by human eyes, for a twelve month, they thoroughly scour and clean them, and about one o'clock they are brought into the square. These utensils are regarded as presents from the Great Spirit. They are brought into the square with great state and ceremony. The persons bearing them are preceded by two men provided with cocoanut shells which they rattle continually, the men singing all the time, and they are followed by others with long reeds from the ends of which white feathers stream in the wind. The whole procession dances into the square and around it four times and then passes outside and dances around another spot four times. Then they again enter the square repeating the dance in and out four times. After this the sacred pieces are delivered over to the King (Micco) and after fasting all day and all night and dancing all night [on the second day of the ceremony], they dance the War Dance. For this dance there are two men selected called the head warriors. These two come into the square just before day unclothed except for a piece of stroud, but they are painted and covered with ornaments and carry a pouch for their pipe and tobacco. There are a number of women selected to assist the men in singing the war song for the two men to dance after around the square, or the ring in the center of the square. During the dancing two separate parties are selected and dressed like the two warriors except that they have shot pouches and rifles, and effigies are prepared and set up outside of the square to represent enemies surmounted with scalps, generally representing one woman and two men. The warriors approach in the Indian mode of advancing to battle by stealthily crawling behind such objects as make the best screens. (During all this time the two warriors are dancing inside of the square.)

"There are spies out who discover the approach of the two parties about to surround the effigies, and they go to the corner of the square and give notice to the two warriors that their friends in two parties are about to surround their enemies, the effigies. As soon as this is done a man rushes out beating a drum, and at the tap of the drum the head warriors come out of the square, each with an aid, and all four take up a position resting upon one knee, the chiefs with the tomahawks and their aids with rifles presented towards the effigies. While in that position they sing a very solemn war song which is answered in a chorus by their friends, the two parties of warriors. During the singing, the women, who were appointed to sing in the square, pass to a heap of earth previously thrown up for the purpose and are joined by their female friends for the purpose of welcoming their husbands and brothers returned from war. As soon as the women are assembled the head warriors give orders to advance. They take the lead themselves and scalp the effigies, and the two parties meet over the effigies as soon as they are scalped and fire their rifles at will accompanied with an uproar of whooping and yelling. They then pass around the hill where the women are and while the women sing and the men dance, whoop and yell, loading and firing their rifles. After dancing around their women for some time the men enter, firing the guns and rejoicing and dance around the square four times. They then terminate the ceremony for that day, those who have been dancing going to the branch and bathing. After this they return to the square and break their fast by eating green corn without limit with every other kind of vegetable—pumpkins, water melons, etc—but no meat nor salt. This occurs about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning and the remaining portion of the day is devoted to rest as also the night following, except that some may choose to dance for amusement.

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[58] Elsewhere he says "all the morning and until afternoon."

"It is a rule that if, before the Green Corn Dance, any person has eaten green corn or even the food cooked at the fire where corn has been roasted or otherwise prepared for food he is not allowed to participate in the dance or Busk. All who participate in the ceremony are required to clear away the fire and ashes from their domestic hearths and rekindle it with fire which has been made at the square. All who participate in the Busk and take the medicine are obliged for four days to sleep at the square every night and are not allowed to be with their wives. On the third day of the Busk the men dance with the plates and then go out with their rifles to kill deer, returning early in the afternoon (about 2 o'clock) with meat. They eat no meat this day, however, but satiate their appetite with sofkee, etc. The night is passed in dancing and sleeping according to their pleasure, the women not being present. On the fourth day the meat is prepared with salt and eaten for breakfast. After breakfast the women dance in the square, the men merely looking on. Until this day those who have eaten salt are not allowed to touch the ones engaged in the ceremony, who do not, until the fourth day, touch salt themselves. Toward the close of the day the men and women dance what is called the bison dance. The men wear only the stroud except that they add bushes and other means of assimilating their appearance to that of animals. They bend half forward and

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"During the ceremony . . . the young men frequently engage in a ball play or other amusement and . . . everything wears the appearance of rejoicing and gladness, and thanksgiving for the blessings of a plentiful promise of the productions of the earth." [58]

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539 To these may be added an account of a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of July, 1917, by Mr. G. W. Grayson, late chief of the Creek Nation, found among his papers and copied by the writer with the kind permission of Mr. Grayson's family. Unfortunately, one page of the manuscript is missing. I have found it necessary to make a few changes in the wording for the sake of smoothness. The most important contribution contained in this narrative is the insight it gives into the customs observed in receiving a guest from a friendly town. A stray note informs us, on the authority of one of the oldest men in Tukabahchee, that the Power Above who had instituted the ceremony said, "You shall not call my name openly in the congregation; if you do, it will not be well with you."

"[I] arrived at Tuckabatchee Busk ground on July 27, 1917, while the women, twenty-six in number, were dancing. Most of them were apparently of middle age and probably mothers of families. They appeared to be very respectable women and were adorned with long wide ribbons of silk flowing gorgeously from their heads, very much like the women whom we saw some five years ago in the dances of this kind as then conducted by the Okfuskeys near the present town of Eufaula.

"After the women had executed several rounds, they were required to surrender their vttussa vhake ['like war-clubs,' little wooden sticks carved in a manner supposed to resemble the forms of the ancient war-clubs], when the men engaged in the Old dance (punka vcale) mixed up with the women in their ribbons and finery. One round of this was danced and that ended the exercises. At night the people danced until about 10 o'clock and recessed until the morrow.

(Here a page is missing.)

". . . Since last night the buskers have been fasting and must continue it all this day [July 28], and tonight and until tomorrow morning when they will be permitted to partake of food. It is with

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[58] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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regret that they admit that the correct practices of the Busk as they obtained in the olden days are not now correctly known to any of the members. This fact became painfully evident some years ago when the old men counseled together over the subject and decided that they would hereafter confine the exercises of the Busk to what is known as the 'Boy's Fast' (Chebunuckochee im Pusketa), since no member appears able to instruct in or conduct correctly the proper exercises for the adults, while there were many who could conduct the Boy's Fast correctly. So all that we can now see of the Busk is what is known as the Boy's Fast.

"The copper or brass plates are so sacred, and their exposure and handling by incompetent hands so liable to be attended by dire consequences, that we cannot get a view of them. It appears that the town has no medicine men who are sufficiently educated in the mysteries to uncover and handle them. The tradition respecting these plates is that when the Town becomes unable to handle them properly, they are to be surrendered to the Shawnees, and the old man Sardy says they may come now and demand them any year.

"Late this evening I was informed that since the Cowetas, of which I am a member, have ever been the 'big friend' of the Tuckabatchees, and I, a Coweta, though unknown to the majority of the Buskers, had paid them a visit the town owed me a formal reception in keeping with the ancient custom of the respective towns which they desired should be tendered me in accordance with that custom. It transpired, however, that no one save the old gentleman Conchart Emarthla, by whom I had been entertained all day at his camp, knew anything of the ancient customs to be observed at such receptions, and he was lying prone on his back in his camp and in misery from muscular rheumatism. He was solicited by several different messengers from the town chief, sent at several separate times, to go to the dance circle and conduct the reception ceremony, which, despite his ailment, and in deference to me, he was willing to do provided he could be conveyed from his camp to the dance circle. After a number of consultations on the subject, during which the people were busily engaged in the common stomp dance in the square near by, it was decided that the old gentleman should be conveyed in his daughter's $1,600 automobile, standing a few steps from his camp. I accompanied him in the automobile, which his son drove for us, and on the way to the square he instructed me to remain in the auto while he went to confer with the authorities on the subject, after which a messenger would soon be sent to conduct me in as was customary on such occasions. I was to follow him and, when near the seats, say in a voice clearly audible to the assembly, 'I have arrived.'

"Accordingly, on our arrival at the square the old gentleman went in and after some little delay delivered a characteristic, old-

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fashioned speech treating in part of the ancient friendship subsisting between the Tuckabatchees and Cowetas. He told the audience that one of the Cowetas had arrived and that he should be received with all those formalities 'that it was the custom of our forefathers to observe on such occasions in times past.' The old gentleman, in short, delivered a splendid address in the ancient manner, the kind that was once so common with public speakers among the Creeks. After this address, I was conducted into the circle by a special messenger. When I came before the men, who were disposed on seats made of logs, I exclaimed as I had been previously instructed, 'I have arrived.' The old man then instructed the audience as to the order of the hand shaking that was now to be performed. After the hand-shaking I exchanged small bits of 'Star' tobacco—a brand of the manufactured weed much in vogue at this time with chewers of tobacco—with each of the audience, and when we finished the proceeding the pockets of my coat were well loaded with these bits of tobacco. When we were through with this performance, the old gentleman at whose side I sat called up Arbeca Micco, a son of Geo. Long deceased, and, informing him that I was of his own, the Tiger, clan, directed him to conduct me to a seat among the members of his clan where I could be with the other Tigers. This he did and I sat conversing with the Tigers, while the dance was going on, for about an hour, when I retired to my pallet in a tent assigned to me by John Harjo at his camp. The dance was continued until daylight Sunday morning.

"Sunday, July 29th, 1917.—I arose quite early this morning and after breakfast went out to the dance circle where a few men were lying about on the ground and on the old wooden log seats asleep and a few others were sitting in small groups conversing lazily, though much fatigued by the exercises of the all night dance. The only sight that I got was a better view of the United States flag, which floated from a staff near the town chief's seat. This flag the Indians call in their language A-book-he Tca-te ["red flag"]. I also saw the old pine box, about 30 inches square I should judge, sitting on the log seats provided for the chiefs' shed, in which I was informed were inclosed the Brass or Copper plates of which we have so often heard."

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If two families lived a long way from their own busk grounds but near each other's, they sometimes swapped duties, each going to the nearer ground. Such swapping usually took place only between towns in the same fire clan but Cook has known of such an exchange between Tulsa and Tukabahchee Indians. If a man had married outside his town, he was obliged to attend the busk in his wife's town as well as the one in his own, but he could not dance at the former. If he stayed away from the busk of his wife's people, he would be fined a sum amounting, in later times, to something like $10, and if he refused to pay his horse would be carried off.

The Tukabahchee busk proper lasted theoretically eight days, two more than the number given by Stiggins, and this number may be made out if we include the day of assembly and preparation and the day when the people separated to go home. Anciently the busks of Coweta, Kasihta, Kealedji, and perhaps some of the other larger towns were of eight days also, but those of the smaller towns were of four days' duration only, and this difference existed as far back as the time of Hawkins, at the end of the eighteenth century.[57] It is plain from the description of the Tukabahchee busk that it really consisted of a repetition of the same thing twice. First there is a day for arranging the preliminaries, placing visitors, etc., next a day of feasting, then a day of fasting, then a day of relaxation. Then comes a day of hunting corresponding to the day of preparation, a second day of feasting, a second day of fasting, and finally a day when they dispersed. The same idea of repetition by fours, or of the division of the long busk into two periods of four days each, is in evidence in the other accounts which we have of the long form, but the various elements are not always reckoned in the same manner nor do they occur in the same invariable sequence. The earliest account of a Creek eight-day busk which attempts to present the happenings day by day is that of Hawkins, which has been frequently quoted. As it is important to compare this with the accounts already given it is subjoined.

"*First Day.*—In the morning, the warriors clean the yard of the square, and sprinkle white sand, when the a-cee (decoction of the cassine yupon) is made. The fire-maker makes the fire as early in the morning as he can, by friction. The warriors cut and bring into the square, four logs, as long each as a man can cover by extending his two arms; these are placed in the centre of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointed to the cardinal points; in the centre of the cross, the new fire is made. During the first four days, they burn out these four logs.

"The pin-e-bun-gau, (turkey dance,) is danced by the women of the turkey tribe; and while they are dancing the possau is brewed. This is a powerful emetic. The possau is drank from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon. After this, the Toc-co-yule-gau [tokyûlga] (tadpole,) is danced by four men and four women. (In the evening, the men dance E-ne-hou-bun-gau [henïha obânga] the dance of the people second in command.) This they dance till daylight.

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[57] That the eight-day busk was anciently more general is indicated, however, by Eakins's statement that it "formerly embraced a period of eight days, but now a period of four days." (Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 272.)

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"*Second Day.*—This day, about ten o'clock, the women dance Its-ho-bun-dau [Itcha obânga] (gun-dance).[illegible] After twelve, the men go to the new fire, take some of the ashes, rub them on the chin, neck and belly, and jump head foremost into the river, and they return into the square. The women having prepared the new corn for the feast, the men take some of it and rub it between their hands, then on their faces and breasts, and then they feast.

"*Third Day.*—The men sit in the square.

"*Fourth Day.*—The women go early in the morning and get the new fire, clean out their hearths, sprinkle them with sand, and make their fires. The men finish burning out the first four logs, and they take ashes, rub them on their chin, neck and belly, and they go into the water. This day they eat salt, and they dance Obengauchapco [Obânga tcâpko] (the long dance).

"*Fifth Day.*—They get four new logs, and place them as on the first day, and they drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon.

"*Sixth Day.*—They remain in the square.

"*Seventh Day.*—Is spent in like manner as the sixth.

"*Eighth Day.*—They get two large pots, and their physic plants, 1st. Mic-co-ho-yon-e-juh [miko hoyanîdja]. 2. Toloh. 3. A-che-nau [atcîna]. 4. Cup-pau-pos-cau [kâpapaska]. 5. Chu-lis-sau, the roots. 6. Tuck-thlau-lus-te [tokla lasti]. 7. Tote-cul-hil-lis-se-wau [totka hiliswa]. 8. Chofeinsuck-cau-fuck-au [tcufi insâkofâkâ].[illegible] 9. Cho-fe-mus-see. 10. Hil-lis-hut-ke [hilis hâtki]. 11. To-te cuh chooc-his-see. 12. Welau-nuh [wîlânâ]. 13. Oak-chon-utch-co [ok-tcanitcka]. 14. Co-hal-le-wau-gee [koha liwagi, young soft cane]. These are all put into the pots and beat up with water. The chemists (Œ-lic-chul-gee [Aliktcâlgi], called by the traders physic makers,) they blow in it through a small reed, and then it is drank by the men, and rubbed over their joints till the afternoon.

"They collect old corn cobs and pine burs, put them into a pot, and burn them to ashes. Four virgins who have never had their menses, bring ashes from their houses, put them in the pot and stir all together. The men take white clay and mix it with water in two pans. One pan of the clay and one of the ashes, are carried to the cabin of the Mic-co, and the other two to that of the warriors. They then rub themselves with the clay and ashes. Two men appointed to that office, bring some flowers of tobacco of a small kind, (Itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee [Hitci atculi pâkpâgi] or, as the name imports, the old man's tobacco, which was prepared on the first day, and put in a pan on the cabin of the Mic-co, and they give a little of it to every one present.

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[illegible] Hawkins has made an error here on account of the close resemblance of two words. Gun is i'tca, but this is itcha' and the dance is usually called a "women's dance."

[illegible] This is called "buck bush" in English. The Creek word means "rabbit's carrying-basket string."

"The Micco and counsellors then go four times round the fire, and every time they face the east, they throw some of the flowers into the fire. They then go and stand to the west. The warriors then repeat the same ceremony.

"A cane is stuck up at the cabin of the Mic-co with two white feathers in the end of it. One of the Fish tribe, (Thlot-lo-ul-gee [Lålogålgi],) takes it just as the sun goes down, and goes off toward the river, all following him. When he gets half way to the river, he gives the death whoop; this whoop he repeats four times, between the square and the water's edge. Here they all place themselves as thick as they can stand, near the edge of the water. He sticks up the cane at the water's edge, and they all put a grain of the old man's tobacco on their heads, and in each ear. Then, at a signal given, four different times, they throw some into the river, and every man at a like signal plunges into the river, and picks up four stones from the bottom. With these they cross themselves on their breats four times, each time throwing a stone into the river, and giving the death whoop; they then wash themselves, take up the cane and feathers, return and stick it up in the square, and visit through the town. At night they dance O-bun-gau Haujo [Obångå hadjo], (mad dance,) and this finishes the ceremony."[60]

It is to be noticed that four logs are burned up on the first four days, at the end of which time the men rub ashes upon their bodies and go into the water to bathe, and that in the second period of four days the same thing is repeated except that clay is added to the ashes. The division into two periods is further accentuated by the use of pasa on the first day of the first period and the use of the miko hoyanidja and the other medicines, the adilō'ga, on the last day of the last period. It is also to be observed that åsi was drunk early on the first and fifth days. This separate use of the two medicines is of course a considerable variation from the later usage, and there are in fact many differences. Among these it may be noted that the yard was cleaned on the first day of the busk and not at some previous time as is now customary. Next that the new fire was made on the very first day instead of the fasting day, but the women did not clean out their hearths and relight them until the fourth day, whereas they do it now —or did some years back—immediately after the kindling. Since the Turkey women danced the turkey dance on the morning of the first day, just before the pasa was drunk, and women participated in the tadpole dance right afterward, it would appear that the square was not shut off when this medicine was taken or if it was it was only for a few hours, "from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon." It is to be noted that the men rubbed themselves with ashes and jumped into the river on the second day as well as the fourth and

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[60] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 75-78.

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eighth. This would suggest three periods of fasting instead of two, but Hawkins unfortunately does not tell us just when the men fasted and when they were shut up within the bounds of the square. On the third, sixth, and seventh days we are told that the men sat in the square but we do not know whether they were fasting or lounging. At least they appear not to have been taking the medicine at that time. The conjuration with native tobacco was probably, as we know it to have been in later times, to keep away ghosts. I do not know what the ceremonial with the river pebbles may have signified. It will be noticed that this ceremony closed as usual with the mad or drunken dance.

Hodgson gives a short reference to a busk, probably the Kasihta busk, on the authority of a white trader who had been in the Creek Nation 15 years.

"Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble; and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times around the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days; dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and, feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. Many of the old Chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war."[61]

If Bartram's short account, which probably applies to the Atasi busk, is to be relied upon there were considerable differences between the busks of even the Upper Creek towns in his time. He says that they fasted and took medicine for three days, and on the fourth day lighted the new fire, prepared new corn and fruits, and had a feast followed by an all night dance. "This," he says, "continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits, and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns, who have purified and prepared themselves."[62] If we reckon in all of the days given here this busk would extend to from 10 to 12 days, but the account of it is too fragmentary to be trusted very far. From an earlier statement of Bartram's it would seem that this town made an unusually clean sweep of its worn-out property before the ceremony. He says that "having previously provided themselves with new cloaths, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old provisions, they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire."[63]

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[61] Hodgson, Jour. through N. A., p. 266.

[62] Bartram, Travels, p. 508.

Milfort, however, says much the same, speaking perhaps particularly of Otciapofa. "Each year, in the month of August, they assemble by settlements (par habitation) to celebrate the harvest festival; then they renew all that they have used during the year which has just expired; the women break and shatter all their household utensils, and renew them."[64]

The four-day ceremony as recorded and observed by myself is very like the Tukabahchee ceremony cut in half, minus, of course, the shield ceremonial and in general stripped of much of the complication of the latter. The Eufaula ceremony always came in July and within recent years, instead of being determined by the moon, it has been fixed definitely on the 15th of July. The 13th is the day of assembly, the 14th the feast day, and the 16th the day when all separate. Thus the four are made out. I have seen part of this busk myself, but the following account from Jackson Lewis is reproduced by preference, since it gives the less corrupted ceremonial of an earlier period.

The first day of the ceremonial is, as we know, the day for assembling. "On the second day the women begin dancing about 4 p. m. They get through before dark and at dark the men and women dance together around the fire for from one to three hours. Then the men are informed by the chiefs that they must prepare to take the medicine on the morrow. The woman's dance is conducted always by the Hathagas (owners of the white); no other clans can have anything to do with it. While the women dance the chiefs send out men to cut four sticks of wood three or four feet long, which are brought in and prepared. Next morning all of the ashes of the previous fires are raked away and in the place which they occupied a quantity of new earth is deposited brought in from outside of the grounds. On this the fire-maker kindles a new fire made of four sticks of wood pointing to the four cardinal points. One person is detailed for the sole purpose of watching and keeping up the fire during the day on which the medicine is being taken. After the sun is fairly well up two persons are sent to dig up medicine roots and macerate them ready for treatment by the doctor. As the drinkers of the medicine exhaust the supply these two men bring up water to replace it. One of these belongs to the same clan as the town chief and outranks the other who is from the henihålgi, and is called his heniha.

"Any person can be detailed by the chiefs as replenisher of the fire. The maker of the fire, who is usually an old man well initiated into the mysteries, puts the final medicine into the compound, sings a song over it, and blows into it through a cane. After this he sits still for a while thinking of what he is going to say and probably repeating a formula to himself. Then he again blows and again sits quiet, repeating this for some time, and finally he tells the people that it is ready for them. This medicine consists of mīko hoyanīdja, with which they combine wormseed. The ási or cassine is not now used. When all is ready the chiefs are informed of it and they first of all come up and take large potations. All those of the north bed partake first, facing the east as they drink; afterward the henihálgi, then the tástánágálgi, and finally all others. A portion of the medicine is carried over to a place between the north and east beds and placed there for the women and children. As it is to ward off disease and misfortune they wet their faces and hands in it and wet the faces and hands of their children. The medicine is taken in this way four times during the day. No particular number of pots is prescribed. Formerly they were pots made of earthenware, but now barrels have taken their place. They are always so placed that the sun cannot shine on the liquid inside. It is usually drunk in large quantities and then vomited forth, but some who do not wish to vomit it out take small quantities of liquid and wash their faces and wet their hands in it. About the third time the medicine has been taken the hathagálgi gather a number of slender canes (here slender switches from the bottoms are used, 8 or 9 feet long). They kill a little white heron (fus hátki)—if they can kill a white crane it is better still—take the white feathers from it and tie them on the ends of the canes. The hathagálgi do this and they also detail two persons to superintend the dance and see that it is properly conducted. The functions of these two men are indicated by canes three or four feet long with feathers tied to one end. The long switches are then distributed to all of the men who have been taking medicine. Bearing them they then engage in the dance known as tcitahaia, after which they take the medicine for the fourth time and then repair to the nearest water-hole to bathe. During all this time the grounds are marked off and made prohibited ground, and anyone not taking medicine may not go beyond the line marked off around it. The people taking medicine dare not come in contact with anyone who is not taking it. When these people have bathed and gotten back these prohibitions are removed. During the taking of the medicine the chief's interpreter speaks for him and lectures the people, the chief telling him what to say. This speaker is generally taken from the Potato clan. In his speech the chief counsels the people, especially the women, not to speak evilly of each other, to dwell in fellowship with all, and he counsels hospitality to all who have come to the busk. Many similar talks through the same interpreter are made during the busk. This lecturing is of very ancient origin. On the night of the 15th all of the people—men, women, and children—engage in "the all-night dance." This concludes the busk for the year.

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[63] Bartram, Travels, p. 507.

[64] Milfort, Mém., p. 216.

"Long intervals elapse between the first and second and second and third drinkings which the chiefs make use of to select young men to receive new names. A person is selected by the chiefs to inform the youths, and he goes to each of them letting him know what is planned. At Eufaula the men are usually named in pairs, and one of the two must be a person who has already been named at some previous time. One person, or more than two, may, however, be named. After the youths have been informed the chief usually employs his interpreter to call these young men up, and he calls out the new name the youth is to bear twice in a long drawn out voice as if the youth were far away. The youth does not come until the second call. When he comes up they give him a bit of tobacco, but in very ancient times they presented him with a small piece of a scalp taken from the enemy. It is handed to him by the chief's interpreter, and, having received it, the youth waves it over the head of the chief, toward the roof of his cabin and says 'Yu yu' upon which all in the cabin reply 'Madō', thank you. Then he goes back to his seat."

If a man ate roasting ears before the busk no one would touch him or have anything to do with him. Such a person was given medicine last. At Hilibi if a person died during the busk they would fast, drink medicine, and dance all night and by the next noon take dinner as usual. They would do likewise if a man had gotten drunk. There is an indisposition to talk about sacred things, especially matters connected with the busk, unless one is fasting. One informant said "I can tell a little round the outside but not all for I have had my meals."

Swan gives the following account of a four-day busk on the authority of Alexander McGillivray, and it must therefore have been the ancient observance at Otciapofa:

"When corn is ripe, and the cassina or new black-drink has come to perfection, the busking begins on the morning of a day appointed by the priest, or fire-maker (as he is styled) of the town, and is celebrated for four days successively.

"On the morning of the first day, the priest, dressed in white leather moccasins and stockings, with a white dressed deerskin over his shoulders, repairs at break of day, unattended, to the square. His first business is to create the new fire, which he accomplishes with much labor by the friction of two dry sticks. After the fire is produced, four young men enter at the openings of the four corners of the square, each having a stick of wood for the new fire; they approach the new fire with much reverence, and place the ends of the wood they carry, in a very formal manner, to it.[64a] After the fire is sufficiently kindled, four other young men come forward in the same manner, each having a fair ear of new corn, which the priest takes from them, and places with great solemnity in the fire, where it is consumed. Four young warriors then enter the square in the manner before mentioned, each having some of the new cassina. A small part of it is given to the new fire by the priest, and the remainder is immediately parched and cooked for use. During these formalities, the priest is continually muttering some mysterious jargon which nobody understands, nor is it proper for any inquiries to be made on the subject; the people in general believe that he is then communicating with the *great master of breath*.

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[64a] Cf. pp. 581-582, 590.

"At this time, the warriors and others being assembled, they proceed to drink black-drink in their usual manner. Some of the new fire is next carried and left on the outside of the square, for public use; and the women allowed to come and take it to their several houses, which have the day before been cleaned, and decorated with green boughs, for its reception; all the old fire in the town having been previously extinguished, and the ashes swept clean away, to make room for the new. During this day, the women are suffered to dance with the children on the outside of the square, but by no means suffered to come into it. The men keep entirely by themselves, and sleep in the square.

"The second day is devoted by the men to taking their war-physic. It is a strong decoction of the button snake-root, or seneca, which they use in such quantities as often to injure their health by producing spasms, etc.

"The third day is spent by the young men in hunting or fishing, while the elder ones remain in the square and sleep, or continue their black-drink, war-physic, etc., as they choose. During the first three days of busking, while the men are physicking, the women are constantly bathing. It is unlawful for any man to touch one of them, even with the tip of his finger; and both sexes abstain rigidly from all kinds of food or sustenance, and more particularly from salt.

"On the fourth day, the whole town are assembled in the square, men, women, and children promiscuously, and devoted to conviviality. All the game killed the day before by the young hunters, is given to the public; large quantities of new corn, and other provisions, are collected and cooked by the women over the new fire. The whole body of the square is occupied with pots and pans of cooked provisions, and they all partake in general festivity. The evening is spent in dancing, or other trifling amusements, and the ceremony is concluded.

"N. B.—All the provisions that remain are a perquisite to the old priest, or fire-maker.

"ANTH[illegible] ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY."[85]

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[85] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 267-268.

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In this ceremonial, as in the Kasihta busk recorded by Hawkins, the fire was kindled on the morning of the first day, but here the similarity ends. The women were shut out of the square on this first day, whereas it is evident they were not at Kasihta. The pasa was drunk on the second day instead of the first. It is to be noticed that this is the only town of the Creeks, so far as we know, in which the ȧsi was sanctified along with the corn. I am inclined to think that this description leaves out a great deal, since no mention is made of the mi̥ko hoyanīdja or other medicines besides the pasa and ȧsi, and because the bath with which the busk broke up is not recorded. The feasting day appears to have been at the end instead of the beginning.

The Apalachicola busk was held in the latter half of July, lasted only four days like the two preceding, and the days were named like those at Eufaula, the days of assembling, eating, fasting, and dispersing. About four people got together to decide on the war titles conferred at that time. One informant said they were taken from the names belonging to the clan of the aspirant's father, so that they changed every generation, but this was contradicted by everyone else. The people in the north bed selected some persons to call out the new names for the people in the west bed (the Chiefs' bed) who did not move from their places. Those who were to make the new fire were selected by the head men of the town from a certain clan and they held office for four years. This clan was probably the Bear. Certain men were also selected to place the four main sticks for the fire. The medicine was taken four times, just as the sun was on the eastern horizon, at noon, in the middle of the afternoon, and at sunset. Then they went to the river and dipped four times, facing the east. After that they could eat the new corn, beans, etc.

At Tuskegee, according to information obtained both by Doctor Speck and myself, there was a feast for the visitors from friendly towns on the first day, and during the same day the medicines were collected. On the second day the men fasted, the medicines were prepared and taken, the new fire lighted, a game of ball played, and finally the dancers bathed and danced all that night. The bath may, however, have occurred on the following morning (Silas Jefferson). The introduction of a ball game on this day seems unusual, as also another fact which I give on the authority of the last chief, that those who were going to fast rubbed their bodies with medicine and were scratched on the calves of the legs, the hips, and the hands up and down and crosswise, and also crosswise of their breasts. Two pots of hot medicine were taken first and then two pots of cold medicine later to induce vomiting.[illegible]

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[illegible] The ball game and scarification seem to have been adopted from the Yuchi, who were neighbors of the Tuskegee after they moved west.

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The Coweta busk has been given up for some time. As the capital town of the Lower Creeks, specific information regarding it would be of interest, but the notes I have are somewhat confusing and suggest that some of them apply to an earlier form of the busk and some to a later form. According to one informant, the day of gathering and the day of eating were identical. On the morning after this day six men went out very early before they had eaten anything and brought in the medicines. Those who were going to fast also abstained from food. The medicine was prepared and taken about noon. Afterwards there was a ball game between the men and women, followed by a dance which lasted until midnight. They rested from midnight until morning and next day began taking the medicine again. They took it four times a day for four days, fasted, and danced the feather dance and the gun dance. The night of the fourth day there was an all-night dance, and during this time the chief usually talked to them, warning them not to commit adultery or have sexual relations within the prescribed limits and bringing his remarks home by pointing to a long pole on which hung switches, and the ears, nose, and hair cut off of some earlier offender. Early next morning all went to the creek and dived into the water four times. Then they came back, all ate salted food, and the visitors, of whom there would then be crowds, were given food. That night they danced again, sometimes until midnight, sometimes all night. On the following morning the visitors prepared to go, and they gave a sign with the hand which signified "You friends that are here, now I am going." After the visitors had gone the chief made another speech to his own people, after which they, too, prepared to leave. The new fire was probably lighted on the first day of the fast, and four ears of corn were brought in and laid upon the sticks or beside them. Four fishes were also brought in. My informants did not know what was done with them, but, judging by the treatment accorded the meat at Tukabahchee, it may be considered probable that they were burned in the new fire. In late times there were only three men in the north bed during the fast, and these moved into the south bed when visitors were admitted. Women and children were admitted to seats in the east bed in later times, but anciently it was occupied by the younger men. There were two medicine pots, one of which contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja and was warmed, while the other contained miko hoyanīdja alone and was cold.

According to a second informant the Coweta fasted one entire day and took what they called "the white nourishment" three days longer. This included all kinds of food but meat and salt. While this is probably correct I am doubtful whether we have here the original custom or a stage in the decay of the institution, a compromise to alleviate the asperity of the abstinence.

The account of this busk given by a third informant differs considerably and is probably the later form:

When the time was approaching for the annual busk the town chief and his assistants, who were all from the same bed, would call together those Coweta men who lived near by and they would fix upon a date for the busk. Those Coweta living at a distance were notified in the usual way through a messenger who brought each a little bundle of sticks about as large as matches. One of these was thrown away every day until two were left, when the man knew that it was the day when he must start. On the day represented by the last stick all were gathered at the square ground. That night they had a dance, and in the morning before breakfast some persons were sent out after the different medicines. When these individuals came back they took a bath and then ate for the first time that day. The rest of the day all spent as suited them, and that night there was another dance. Next day was the day of feasting. If there were delegations of visitors from other towns of the same fire clan they would come in, one delegation at a time, the Chiaha, the Broken Arrows, etc. Each delegation would first dance around outside of the square toward the northeast while the Coweta men danced around toward the southwest. Then they came in and the visitors sat first in the north bed which had been vacated for them. As they did so they raised their right hands toward the Coweta (who were seated in the Chiefs' bed) but in a direction over the heads of the latter with a kind of sweep and said, "Are you friends here?" After remaining in the north bed a short time the visitors got up again and passed around in front of the Chiefs' bed. The Coweta chief would say "Have you come?" (âlahkitcka′) and the chief of the visitors would answer "Yes" (Hehé). Each of the Coweta would then give a piece of tobacco to the visitor opposite him and the latter would give another piece in return. Then the visitors made the same salute as before and passed out to eat. After that 10 bowls of food were brought into the square all prepared. Then the visitors' women were called in and a bowl of food was sent to each delegation of visitors. The women took this to their own people and they feasted upon it.

Before this feast was served, however, the Coweta danced the gun dance (tabŏtckâ obânga). Part of them came in with guns loaded only with powder and discharged them. Then all would run down to the creek while another squad armed with guns or bows and arrows pursued them all the way. All then bathed and returned. Women danced this dance and while they were doing so four men sang for them, using a drum and a cocoanut rattle. My informant added that nowadays this dance would be unsafe, for someone would certainly be shot to satisfy a grudge. After the women had been dismissed with their bowls of food and the visitors had begun their feast the Coweta commenced to fast, though they had in fact eaten nothing that morning. They remained inside the bounds of the square and could not so much as touch one of those who had eaten. In case a man did so he was fined 25 or 50 cents. Each of the three medicines, pasa, miko hoyanīdja, and ȧsi, was mixed in a different vessel. The bark of the miko hoyanīdja was scraped off before it was put into the pot, but the pasa was put in whole, after which water was added, the medicine man conjured it, and it was drunk hot. Two bearers carried the medicines in long-handled gourds to those who were to drink and uttered the yahola cry as they delivered it.[a] Each took enough of it to make him vomit. All of the fasters took the medicine four times during the day, but the day following was the regular busk day. Early on the morning of that day before sunrise four green logs about a yard long were brought in, placed in a cross shape, each stick toward one of the cardinal points, and, by means of flint and steel, fire was started at the place where all came together, the sparks being caught upon some punk (totpāfka). There had been a fire in this place during the preliminary days but before the new fire was lighted all of the ashes from this were cleared away along with all of those of the fire of the preceding year. In the time of my informant this fire was not distributed to the camps. The sticks were named after the points of the compass: South, wahȧla; north, holīna; east, hasōsa ("rising sun"); and west, akȧlatka ("toward the sunset"). Four roasting ears were brought in by persons who had special charge of them, but my informant did not know what was done with them. Two men called "the fishers" also went out and brought in four fishes. Probably these were all burned in the fire.

The medicine was taken at about 9, 12, 3, and 6 o'clock. After the first medicine taking they danced the tcidahaia obȧnga, with the usual feathered canes. One man led, accompanying himself with a rattle, and the others responded. The song goes like this:

hȧtci dȧ+hia
hȧtci dȧ+hia
hiha hī+hē+++

This refrain is repeated over and over many times. After this was over the dancers went down to the creek to bathe. By this time the four busk logs were about burned up and were all shoved on together and a big fire made up about which the people danced all night. When the fast was over they partook of a meal in which salt must be used. The dances on the last night were of various kinds, and at intervals the chief made speeches to his people, telling them how to behave, and in general inculcating virtues. Finally he

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[a] This informant probably confused the customs connected with the ȧsi with the usages regarding the regular busk medicines.

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THE CREEK BUSK: THE WOMEN'S DANCE

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THE CREEK BUSK: WOMEN'S DANCE AT THE OKCHAI BUSK IN 1912

p. 588 (B)

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p. 588 (c)

a. Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs' Bed

b. Rite of the emetic

THE OKCHAI BUSK

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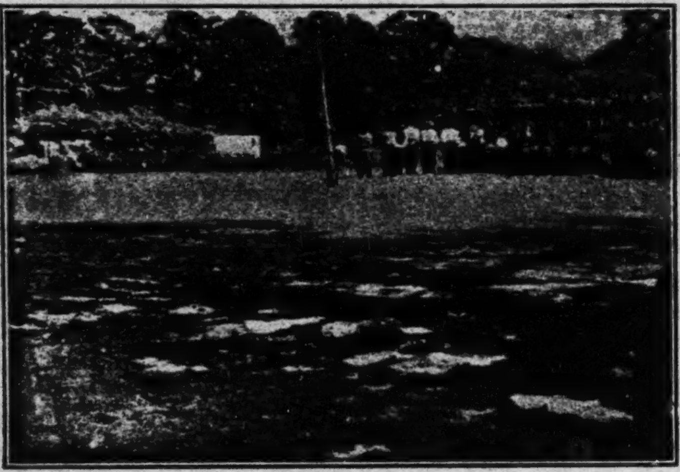

TAKING THE EMETIC AT OKCHAI

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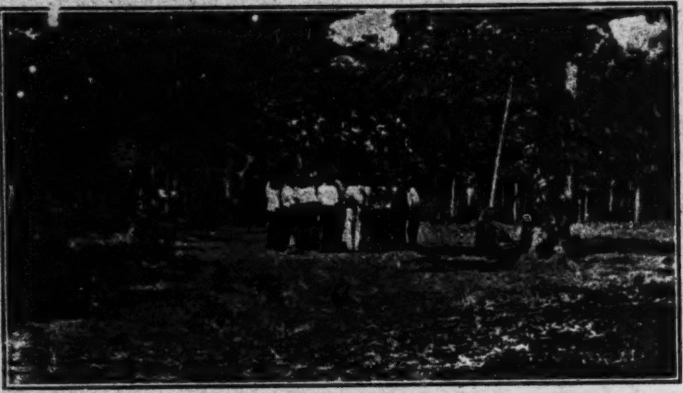
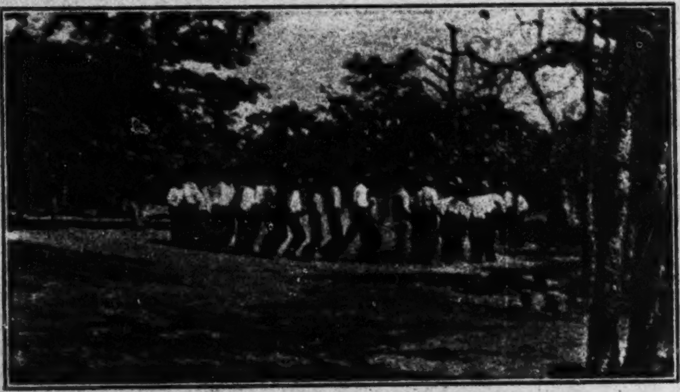


a. The tcitahaia or "feather dance"



b. The tcitahaia or "feather dance"

c. The Square Ground just after the fasters have left to bathe in a neighboring creek

THE CREEK BUSK

p. 588 (E)

told them that if they lived through another year they must all assemble at the busk again. The next morning all went home. In commenting on the Coweta busk Bosomworth says that it was said to be an ancient custom for the chief to remain eight days in the square ground after the ceremony was over, a period which he spent "in performing several ceremonies and giving several necessary orders to his people."[88]

I find a conflicting note to the effect that the four busk logs were pushed in every day for four days, after which occurred the all night dance. Perhaps this applied to the older form of the busk. During this fast a man of the Aktayatci and two others were the only occupants of the north bed. Like one or two of the extant grounds, Coweta had a small house for the medicine pots.

I have myself witnessed the busks of Eufaula, Hilibi, and Okchai, all of which are similar (see pls. 8–12). At Eufaula the women's dance took place very late in the afternoon, at Hilibi it was very early, while at Okchai it was intermediate in time. The medicine at Okchai was taken considerably earlier in the day than at the two other places. The following additional notes were obtained from Tàl mutcàsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łálogálga, who was familiar with the older customs.

When the ashes were removed from the old fire[89] by the warriors the camps were cleaned up and the warriors removed the ashes from them also. The women's medicine was placed southwest of the square, the men's medicine on the north end of the Chiefs' bed. The fire has been lighted in recent years with a match. Like the Tukabahchee they brought sand and laid it out in the place where the fire was to be lighted. Each of the four foundation sticks was conjured in advance and placed at the center of one of the four beds. A man was appointed to take charge of each stick and at a given word they approached the center and laid their four sticks down at the same instant in their proper positions.[89a] Anciently two sticks of post oak were used in making fire and later flint and steel were obtained from the French, and the sparks were caught upon true punk obtained from hickory or sycamore trees where the limbs have come away. When the punk caught fire, it was picked off, mixed with hay, and fanned until the whole burst into flames. The Ásilanabi and Łálogálga squares are within a few miles of each other, and nowadays (1912) they fast two days at Asilanabi and two days at Łálogálga to make the four.

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[88] The Bosomworth Journal Ms., S. C. Colls., p. 25.

[89] Burning coals were brought from the old square ground fire of the Okchai in Alabama by a leading man of the town and his heniha, kept alive during the migration west and buried about 2 feet under ground beneath the fire in the new square ground near Hanna, Okla. Ashes from the old Kasihta ground are also said to have been brought west for burial under the new ceremonial fire.

[89a] This treatment of the sticks is like that in the busk described by McGillivray. See p. 582.

•796 Before the Civil War the Lutcapoga busk included a fast of four days, from which it may be inferred that the entire length was eight. This would apply as well to Tulsa, the mother town. This fast was from the evening of the first day to the morning after the fourth. Medicine was taken every day.

One description of the busk now remains to be considered—the one given by Adair. This is in several separate fragments which have to be pieced together, and there is a running comparison with Hebrew customs which must be carefully excised. Of all accounts that have been preserved it is the most elaborate in detail, though the material is not systematically presented. Furthermore, we do not know certainly to which tribe or town it belongs. The context and the use of Chickasaw expressions throughout would lead us to suppose that we are having a Chickasaw ceremonial presented to us, but if so this is the only reference to a busk ceremonial in that tribe. As has been noted in several places, the Chickasaw were closely associated with the Creeks in many ways and had probably borrowed some of their customs—for a time there was a Chickasaw town among the Upper Creeks—but all other early writers are silent on the subject of a Chickasaw busk, and at the present day these Indians remember nothing whatever regarding such a ceremony. Their modern ceremonies are the Pishofa dances which differ from the Creek ceremonial in almost every particular. If this is a description of a Creek ceremony, it would probably be the busk of Coosa, Abihka, or Okfuskee, but this point along with the question whether it is Chickasaw or Creek must remain in doubt. In the square ground where it took place the Chiefs' bed was at the west, that of the Warriors at the south, that of the second men or henihálgi north, and that of the Youths east. It is thus described:

"The Indians formerly observed the grand festival of the annual expiation of sin, at the beginning of the first new moon, in which their corn became fulleared; but for many years past they are regulated by the season of their harvest . . .

"As the first of the Neetak Hoollo, precedes a long strict fast of two nights and a day, they gormandize such a prodigious quantity of strong food, as to enable them to keep inviolate the succeeding fast, the sabbath of sabbaths, the Neetak Yah-ah: the feast lasts only from morning till sunset. Being great lovers of ripened fruits, and only tantalized as yet, with a near view of them; and having lived at this season, but meanly on the wild products of nature—such a fast as this may be truly said to afflict their souls, and to prove a sufficient trial of their religious principles. During the festival, some of their people are closely employed in putting their temple [the tcokofa] in proper order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabbin, and the supposed holiest, with white clay; for it is a sacred, peaceable place, and white is the emblem. Some, at the same time are likewise painting the war-cabbin with red clay, or their emblematical red root, as occasion requires; while others of an inferior order, are covering all the seats of the beloved square with new mattresses, made out of fine splinters of long canes, tied together with flags. In the mean time, several of them are busy in sweeping the temple, clearing it of every supposed polluting thing, and carrying out the ashes from the hearth which perhaps had not been cleaned six times since the last year's general offering. Several towns join together to make the annual sacrifice; and, if the whole nation lies in a narrow compass, they make but one annual offering; by which means, either through a sensual or religious principle, they strike off the work with joyful hearts. Every thing being thus prepared, the Archi-magus [i. e. the medicine maker] orders some of his religious attendants to dig up the old hearth, or altar [in the center of the square], and to sweep out the remains that by chance might either be left, or drop down. Then he puts a few roots of the button-snake-root, with some green leaves of an uncommon small sort of tobacco, and a little of the new fruits, at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and wetted over with clean water.

"Immediately, the magi [the doctors] order them to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of the various young trees, which the warriors had designedly chosen, and laid down on the outside of the supposed holy ground: the women, in the interim are busy at home in cleaning out their houses, renewing the old hearths, and cleaning all their culinary vessels, that they may be fit to receive the pretended holy fire, and the sanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law; lest by a contrary conduct, they should incur damage in life, health, future crops, &c. It is fresh in the memory of the old traders, that formerly none of these numerous nations of Indians would eat, or even handle any part of the new harvest, till some of it had been offered up at the yearly festival by the Archi-magus, or those of his appointment, at their plantations, though the light harvest of the past year had forced them to give their women and children of the ripening fruits, to sustain life. Notwithstanding they are visibly degenerating, both in this, and every other religious observance, except what concerns war; yet their magi and old warriors live contentedly on such harsh food as nature affords them in the woods, rather than transgress that divine precept given to their forefathers.

"Having every thing in order for the sacred solemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feast, and lay them on the outside of the square; others of the inferior order carefully sweep out the smallest crumbs, for fear of polluting the first fruit offering; and before sunset, the temple must be cleared, even every kind of

•796 vessel or utensil, that had contained, or been used about any food in that expiring year. The women carry all off, but none of that sex, except half a dozen old beloved women are allowed in that interval to tread on the holy ground, till the fourth day. Now, one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits, to come and enter the beloved square, and observe the fast; he likewise exhorts all the women and children, and those who have not initiated themselves in war, to keep apart from them, according to law. Should any of them prove disobedient, the young ones would be dry-scratched, and the others stript of every thing they had on them . . .

"Their great beloved man, or Archi-magus, now places four sentinels [the dog-whippers], one at each corner of the holy square, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the first-fruit-offering, and that of marriage, since the last year's expiation. Those sentinels are regularly relieved, and firm to their sacred trust; if they discerned a dog or cat on the out-limits of the holy square, before the first-fruit-offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the spot.

"They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun; and be they ever so hungry in that sacred interval the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and the violation so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it; for, like the Hebrews, they fancy temporal evils are the necessary effect of their immoral conduct, and they would for ever ridicule and reproach the criminal for every bad occurrence that befel him in the new year, as the sinful author of his evils; and would sooner shoot themselves, than suffer such long-continued sharp disgrace. The religious attendants boil a sufficient quantity of button-snake-root, highly imbittered and give it round pretty warm, in order to vomit and purge their sinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themselves, till the end of the fast . . .

"That the women and children, and those worthless fellows who have not hazarded their lives in defense of their holy places and things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely godless, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the small-leafed tobacco, on the outside of a corner of the sacred square; and an old beloved woman carries it off, and distributes it to the sinners without, in large pieces, which they chew heartily, and swallow, in order to afflict their souls. She commends those who perform the duty with cheerfulness, and chides those who seem to do it unwillingly, by their wry faces on account of the bitterness of the supposed sanctifying herb. She distributes it in such quantities, as she thinks are equal to their capacity of sinning, giving to the reputed,

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worthless old He-hen-pickers, the proportion only of a child, because she thinks such spiritless pictures of men cannot sin with married women; as all the females love only the virtuous manly warrior, who has often successfully accompanied the beloved ark.

"In the time of this general fast, the women, children, and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat, as soon as they are certain the sun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude; but not before that period . . .

"The whole time of this fast may with truth be called a fast, and to the Archi-magus, to all the magi, and pretended prophets, in particular; for, by ancient custom, the former is obliged to eat of the sanctifying small-leafed tobacco, and drink the snake-root, in a separate hut for the space of three days and nights without any other subsistence, before the solemnity begins; besides his full portion along with the rest of the religious order, and the old war-chieftains, till the end of the general fast, which he pretends to observe with the strictest religion. After the first-fruits are sanctified, he lives most abstemiously till the end of the annual expiation only sucking water-melons now and then to quench thirst, and support life, spitting out the more substantial part . . . Thus the Indian religious are retentive of their sacred mysteries to death, and the Archi-magus is visibly thin and meagre at the end of the solemnity . . . The superannuated religious are also emulous in the highest degree, of excelling one another in their long fasting; for they firmly believe, that such an annual self-denying method is so highly virtuous, when joined to an obedience of the rest of their laws, as to be the infallible means of averting evil, and producing good things, through the new year. They declare that a steady virtue, through the divine co-operating favour, will infallibly insure them a lasting round of happiness.

"At the end of this solemn fast, the women by the voice of the crier, bring to the outside of the holy square, a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly dressed, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their several duties, with regard to both time and place. The centinels report the affair, and soon afterward the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, they bring in the provisions, and set down before the famished multitude. Though most of the people may have seen them, they reckon it vicious and mean to shew a gladness for the end of their religious duties; and shameful to hasten the holy attendants, as they are all capable of their offices . . .

"Before noon, the temple is so cleared of every thing the women brought to the square, that the festival after that period, resembles a magical entertainment that had no reality in it, consisting only in a delusion of the senses. The women then carry the vessels from the temple to the water, and wash them clean for fear of pollution.

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As soon as the sun is visibly declining from his meridian, this third day of the fast, the Archi-magus orders a religious attendant to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the sacred altar—commanding every one of them to stay within their own houses, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the least bad thing—and to be sure to extinguish, and throw away every spark of the old fire; otherwise, the devine fire will bite them severely with bad diseases, sickness, and a great many other evils, which he sententiously enumerates, and finishes his monitory caution, by laying life and death before them."[70]

The costume assumed by the Archi-magus or fire maker at this time is thus described by Adair:

"Before the Indian *Archi-magus* officiates in making the supposed holy fire, for the yearly atonement of sin, the Sagan clothes him with a white ephod, which is a waistcoat without sleeves. When he enters on that solemn duty, a beloved attendant spreads a white-drest buckskin on the white seat, which stands close to the supposed holiest, and then puts some white beads on it, that are given him by the people. Then the *Archi-magus* wraps around his shoulders a consecrated skin of the same sort, which reaching across under his arms, he ties behind his back, with two knots on the legs, in the form of a figure of eight. Another custom he observes on this solemn occasion, is, instead of going barefoot, he wears a new pair of buckskin white moccasenes made by himself, and stitched with the sinews of the same animal. The upper leather across the toes, he paints, for the space of three inches, with a few streaks of red—not with vermilion, for that is their continual war-emblem, but with a certain red root, its leaves and stalk resembling the ipecacuanha, which is their fixed red symbol of holy things. These shoes he never wears, but in the time of the supposed passover; for at the end of it, they are laid up in the beloved place, or holiest, where much of the like sort, quietly accompanies an heap of old, broken earthen ware, conch-shells, and other consecrated things. . . . The American *Archi-magus* wears a breast-plate, made of a white conch-shell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buckhorn white button to the outside of each . . . The Indian wears around his temples, either a wreath of swan-feathers, or a long piece of swan-skin doubled, so as only the fine snowy feathers appear on each side. And [he] wears on the crown of his head, a tuft of white feathers, which they call *Yatèra*. He likewise fastens a tuft of blunted wild Turkey cock-spurs, toward the toes of the upper part of his moccasenes. . . Thus appears the Indian Archi-magus . . . when he is to officiate in his pontifical function, at the annual expiation of sins.[71] . . .

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[70] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 100-105.

[71] Ibid., pp. 82-84.

"Now every thing is hushed. Nothing but silence all around: the Archi-magus, and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, so as not to reach through it, he then sharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke—or, by rubbing two pieces together, for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire; which all of them reckon to immediately issue from the holy Spirit of fire . . . When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cherishes it with fine chips, or shaved splinters of pitch-pine, which had been deposited in the holiest: then he takes the unsullied wing of a swan, fans it gently, and cherishes it to a flame. On this, the Archi-magus brings it out in an old earthen vessel, whereon he had placed it, and lays it on the sacred altar, which is under an arbour, thick-weaved a-top with green boughs . . .

"Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is supposed to atone for all their past crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter shews his pleasure, by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood; for they put no rotton wood on it . . . Although the people without, may well know what is transacting within, yet, by order, a crier informs them of the good tidings, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a basket-full of the new-ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved square. As she before had been appointed, and religiously prepared for that solemn occasion, she readily obeys, and soon lays it down with a cheerful heart, at the out-corner of the beloved square. By ancient custom, she may either return home, or stand there, till the expiation of sin hath been made, which is thus performed—The Archi-magus, or fire-maker, rises from his white seat and walks northward three times round the holy fire, with a slow pace, and in a very sedate and grave manner, stopping now and then, and speaking certain old ceremonial words with a low voice and a rapidity of expression, which none understand but a few of the old beloved men, who equally secrete their religious mysteries, that they may not be prophaned. He then takes a little of each sort of the new harvest, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the supposed holy ground, rubs some bear's oil over it, and offers it up together with some flesh, to the bountiful holy Spirit of fire as a first-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for sin. He likewise consecrates the button-snake-root, and the cusseena, by pouring a little of those two strong decoctions into the pretended holy fire. He then purifies the red and white seats with those bitter liquids, and sits down. Now, every one of the outlaws who had been catched a tripping, may safely creep out of their lurking holes, anoint themselves, and dress in their finest, to pay their grateful thanks at an awful distance, to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is soon ordered to call to the women around, to come to the sacred fire: they gladly obey.—When they come to the outside of the quadrangular holy ground, the *Archi-magus* addresses the warriors, and gives them all the particular positive injunctions, and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly station. Then he changes his note, and uses a much sharper language to the women, as suspecting their former virtue. He first tells them very earnestly, that if there are any of them who have not extinguished the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the divine fire should spoil both them and the people; he charges them to be sure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unsanctified, or impure food, otherwise they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diseases, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themselves, and all the beloved, or holy people . . .

"In his female lecture, he is sharp and prolix; he urges them with much earnestness to an honest observance of the marriage-law, which may be readily executed, on account of the prevalent passion of self interest. Our own christian orators do not exert themselves with half the eloquence or eagerness, as when that is at stake which they most value. And the wary old savage has sense enough to know, that the Indian female virtue is very brittle, not being guarded so much by inward principle, as the fear of shame, and of incurring severe punishment; but if every bush of every thicket was an hundred-eyed Argos, it would not be a sufficient guard over a wanton heart. So that is natural they should speak much on this part of the subject, as they think they have much at stake. After that, he addresses himself to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy, and expressive gestures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those shameful adulterous criminals into social privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be sure to remember well, and strongly shake hands with the old beloved straight speech, otherwise the divine fire, which sees, hears, and knows them, will spoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapse, and commit that detestable crime. Then he enumerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, assuring them, that upon their careful observance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rain-makers, to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies—and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are certain: but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, uncommon diseases, a subjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat the flesh, and beasts of prey destroy the remaining bones, so as they will not be gathered to their forefathers—because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes, by advising them to a strict observance of their old rites and customs, and every thing shall go well with them. He soon orders some of the religious attendants to take a sufficient quantity of the supposed holy fire, and lay it down on the outside of the holy ground, for all the houses of the various associated towns, which sometimes lie several miles apart. The women, hating sharp and grave lessons, speedily take it up, gladly carry it home, and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths, with the prospect of future joy and peace." [72]

After these lectures the women hasten to prepare food of the new year on the new fire which they have obtained, and meanwhile a dance takes place which is described in a different place by Adair as follows:

"While their sanctified new fruits are dressing, a religious attendant is ordered to call six of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved speech. They cheerfully obey, and enter the supposed holy ground in solemn procession, each carrying in her hand a bundle of small branches of various green trees; and they join the same number of old magi, or priests, who carry a cane in one hand adorned with white feathers, having likewise green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from their holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with several rounds. Those beloved men have their heads dressed with white plumes; but the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with bear's-grease, having small tortoise shells, and white pebbles [or beads], fastened to a piece of white-drest deerskin, which is tied to each of their legs [on the outside].

"The eldest of the priests leads the sacred dance, a-head of the innermost row, which of course is next to the holy fire. He begins the dance round the supposed holy fire, by invoking Yah, after their usual manner, on a bass key, and with a short accent; then he sings Yo Yo, which is repeated by the rest of the religious procession; and he continues his sacred invocations and praises, repeating the divine word, or notes, till they return to the same point of the circular course, where they began: then He He in like manner, and Wah Wah. While dancing they never fail to repeat those notes; then *Hebluiah*, *Halelu-Yah*, and Aleluiah and Alelu-Yah, 'Irradiation to the divine essence,' with great earnestness and fervor, till they encircle the altar, while each strikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well-timed. Then the awful drums join the sacred choir, which incite the old female singers to chant forth their pious notes, and grateful praises before the divine essence, and to redouble their former quick joyful steps, in imitation of the leader of the sacred dance, and the religious men a-head of them. What with the manly strong notes of the one, and the shrill voices of the other, in concert with the bead-shells, and the two sounding, drum-like earthen vessels, with the voices of the musicians who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praises of Yo He Wah . . . They continue their grateful divine hymns for fifteen minutes, when the dance breaks up."[73]

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[72] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 105-108.

At the same time the àsi was being prepared. Adair continues:

"The Archi-magus sends a religious attendant to pull some cusseena, or yopon, belonging to the temple; and having parched it brown on the altar, he boils it with clear running water in a large earthen pot, about half full; it has such a stong body, as to froth above the top by pouring it up and down with their consecrated vessels which are kept only for that use: of this they drink now and then, till the end of the festival, and on every other religious occasion from year to year. Some of the old beloved men, through a religious emulation in sanctifying themselves, often drink this, and other bitter decoctions, to such excess, as to purge themselves very severely,—when they drink it, they always invoke Yo He Wah [i. e., always utter the yahola cry].

"If any of the warriors are confined at home by sickness, or wounds, and are either deemed incapable or unfit to come to the annual expiation, they are allowed one of the consecrated conch-shells-full of their sanctifying bitter cusseena, by their magi. The traders hear them often dispute for it, as their proper due, by ancient custom: and they often repeat their old religious ceremonies to one another, especially that part which they imagine most affects their present welfare; the aged are sent to instruct the young ones in these particulars . . .

"Though the Indians do not eat salt in their first-fruit oblation till the fourth day; it is not to be doubted but they formerly did. They reckon they cannot observe the annual expiation of sins, without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new sanctified fruits; and some years they have a great deal of trouble in killing a sufficient quantity of bears for the use of this religious solemnity, and their other sacred rites for the approaching year; for at such seasons they are hard to be found, and quite lean. The traders commonly supply themselves with plenty of this oil from winter to winter; but the Indians are so prepossessed with a notion of the white people being all impure and accursed, that they deem their oil as polluting on those sacred occasions, as Josephus tells us the Jews reckoned that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his pipe at a white man's fire if he suspects any unsanctified food has been dressed at it in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripened fruits, their religious men carry a flint, punk, and steel, when they visit us, for fear of polluting themselves by lighting their pipes at our supposed Loak ookproose [Luak okpulosi], 'accursed fire,' and spoiling the power of their holy things. The polluted would, if known, be infallibly anathamatized, and expelled from the temple, with the women, who are suspected of gratifying their vicious taste. During the eight days festival, they are forbidden even to touch the skin of a female child; if they are detected, either in cohabiting with, or laying their hand on any of their own wives, in that sacred interval, they are stripped naked, and the offender is universally deemed so atrocious a criminal, that he lives afterwards a miserable life. Some have shot themselves dead, rather than stand the shame, and the long year's continual reproaches cast upon them, for every mischance that befalls any of their people, or the ensuing harvest,—a necessary effect of the divine anger, they say, for such a crying sin of pollution. An instance of this kind I heard happened some years ago in Talase, a town of the Muskohge, seven miles above the Alebama garrison.[73a]

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[73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 96-98.

"[The food having been prepared] the women now with the utmost cheerfulness, bring to the outside of the sacred square, a plentiful variety of all those good things, with which the divine fire has blessed them in the new year; and the religious attendants lay it before them, according to their stated order and reputed merit. Every seat is served in a gradual succession, from the white and red imperial long broad seats, and the whole square is soon covered: frequently they have a change of courses of fifty or sixty different sorts, and thus they continue to regulate themselves, till the end of the festival; for they reckon they are now to feast themselves with joy and gladness, as the divine fire is appeased for past crimes, and has propitiously sanctified their weighty harvest.[74] . . .

"When we consider how sparingly they eat in their usual way of living, it is surprising to see what a vast quantity of food they consume on their festival days. It would equally surprise a stranger to see how exceedingly they vary their dishes, their dainties consisting only of dried flesh, fish, oil, corn, beans, pease, pompions, and wild fruit. During this rejoicing time, the warriors are dresst in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down; they carry feathers of the same colour, either in their hands, or fastened

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[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 108-109.

[74] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

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to white scraped canes, as emblems of purity, and scepters of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and singing their religious praises around the sacred arbour, in which stands the holy fire. Their music consists of two clay-pot drums, covered on the top with thin wet deer-skins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noisy musicians beats with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices; at the same time, the dancers prance it away, with wild and quick sliding steps, and variegated postures of the body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabashes shaked by some of their religious heroes, each of them singing their old religious songs, and striking notes in tympano et choro. Such is the graceful dancing, as well as the vocal and instrumental music of the red Hebrews on religious and martial occasions, which they must have derived from early antiquity. Toward the conclusion of the great festival, they paint and dress themselves anew, and give themselves the most terrible appearance they possibly can. They take up their war-instruments, and fight a mock-battle in a very exact manner: after which, the women are called to join in a grand dance, and if they disobey the invitation they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of such religious exercise, and deem it productive of temporal good, all soon appear in their finest apparel, as before suggested, decorated with silver ear-bobs, or pendants to their ears, several rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon their fingers, large wire or broad plates of silver on their wrists, their heads shining with oil, and torrepine-shells containing pebbles, fastened to deer-skins, tied to the outside of their legs. Thus adorned, they join the men in three circles, and dance a considerable while around the sacred fire, and then they separate.

"At the conclusion of this long and solemn festival, the Archi-magus orders one of the religious men to proclaim to all the people, that their sacred annual solemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old straight beloved speech; they must therefore paint themselvec, and come along with him according to ancient customs. As they know the stated time, the joyful sound presently reaches their longing ears: immediately they fly about to grapple up a kind of chalky clay, to paint themselves white. By their religious emulation, they soon appear covered with that emblem of purity, and join at the outside of the holy ground, with all who had sanctified themselves within it, who are likewise painted, some with streaks, and others all over, as white as the clay can make them: recusants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go along in a very orderly solemn procession, to purify themselves in running water. The Archi-magus heads the bold train—his waiter next—the beloved men according to their seniority—and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow them in the

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same orderly manner, with all the children that can walk, behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Those, who are known to have eaten of the unsanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing . . . till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the Archi-magus jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him, in the same order they observed from the temple. Having purified themselves, or washed away their sins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil, for their past vicious conduct; and they return in the same religious cheerful manner, into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their great annual festival, and depart in joy and peace.[75]

In a note he adds:

"They are so strictly prohibited from eating salt, or flesh-meat, till the fourth day, that during the interval, the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters, and able-bodied men, kill and barbecue wild game in the woods, at least ten days before this great festival, and religiously keep it for their sacred use." [76]

If this was indeed a Chickasaw ceremony it declined rapidly, and the declension had begun even in Adair's time, for he says: "As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and shorten the time of their fasts and purifications; insomuch, that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs, within the space of the last thirty years, that, at the same rate of declension, there will not be long a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, and war-customs." [76] It may be added that a comparison of the earlier and later forms of the busk tends to bear out Adair's statement with reference to the lengthening of the dances and the shortening of the fasts and purifications. In other words, the social features progressively expanded at the expense of those of a strictly religious nature. It is a process common in all parts of the world where faith in an institution is gradually decaying. In this case the decay was due not so much to the direct influence of European missionaries as to the general modifying tendencies accompanying the advance of white civilization.

A word or two might be added regarding the busk of the Alabama Indians now living in Texas. It is rather curious to find that the Alabama in Oklahoma who have been in close contact with the whites still maintain a busk ground, while those in Texas, though they are

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[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 108-111.

[76] Ibid., p. 98.

796 [177] comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the pasa (Koasati pasé), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called hȧsa'lȧpo against a stick of slippery elm (bȧkca). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

796 171 Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Braggs, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee,[77] but on my next

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[77] See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 10.

visit the ground had been moved and seven cabins had been substituted for the four (pl. 13, *b*). This was to conform to the sacred seven of the Cherokee and the seven clan system, each cabin being occupied by some one of the seven clans. Afterwards I visited two or three other ceremonial grounds in the Cherokee Nation, all with the same arrangment, but I know practically nothing regarding the ceremonies which take place there. My Natchez informant stated that anciently the miko used to stand in front of the fire in the ceremonial ground holding the peace pipe with the stem away from him and the other men would then come in succession, take it from his hands and puff four times toward the sky in the direction of the deity. This happened just before they began dancing. He also stated that they had about three special "stomp dances" during the year, accompanied by feasting and a ball game, from which it appears either that he is citing the Creek custom or that the Natchez usage was the same. 746 171

We will now give an abstract of the more important ceremonials which have been described: 746

### THE CHIAHA BUSK (ELLIS CHILDERS)

*First day.*—Camping day, when the people go into camp about the square ground.

*Second day.*—Visitors' day, when visitors from towns of the same fire clan are entertained.

*Third day.*—Feasting day; visitors and townspeople both eat quantities of food.

*Fourth day.*—Visitors leave for their homes early in the morning. The men of the town fast.

*Fifth day.*—Fines are collected from those who failed to attend and the proceeds, being usually in the form of eatables, are consumed along with other food.

### THE KASIHTA BUSK (HAWKINS)

*First day.*—Square cleaned. Asi or black drink is brewed. The new fire made. The turkey dance performed by women of the Turkey clan. Pasa prepared and drunk. The tadpole dance performed. They dance the heniha dance all night.

*Second day.*—Women dance the itcha dance (not the "gun dance" as Hawkins says). Shortly after noon the men bathe in the river. They feast on new corn.

*Third day.*—The men sit in the square.

*Fourth day.*—The women get and carry home the new fire. The first four logs are entirely consumed on this day. The fasters eat salt. They dance the long dance.

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*Fifth day.*—Four new logs are procured for the fire. Asi is drunk.

*Sixth day.*—The men remain in the square.

*Seventh day.*—The men remain in the square.

*Eighth day.*—Old man's tobacco (hitci pȧkpȧgi) is thrown into the fire. The fasters anoint themselves with clay and ashes and go to the river with much ceremony to bathe.

### THE EUFAULA BUSK (JACKSON LEWIS)

*First day.*—Day of assembling.

*Second day.*—Women's dance is held during the day. A general dance all night.

*Third day.*—The new fire is kindled. Medicines are dug, prepared, and taken four times. Between drinkings speeches are delivered and names given out. They dance the tcitahaia dance. A general dance follows lasting all night.

*Fourth day.*—Day when the busk breaks up.

### THE OTCIAPOFA BUSK (SWAN)

*First day.*—New fire is made. Four ears of corn are placed upon it. Asi is prepared, some poured into the fire, and the rest drunk. The new fire is distributed.

*Second day.*—The men take the pasa.

*Third day.*—The younger men go hunting and fishing; the elders stay in the square and take ȧsi.

*Fourth day.*—There is a feast and dance this evening.

### THE COWETA BUSK (FIRST INFORMANT)

*First day.*—Day of assembling and eating.

*Second day.*—The new fire is lighted and corn and fish burned in it. Medicines are prepared and taken about noon. They dance the tcitahaia dance and the gun dance. There is a ball game. A general dance until midnight.

*Third day.*—Medicines are taken again four times; they dance the tcitahaia and gun dances.

*Fourth day.*—The same.

*Fifth day.*—The same. That night the chief delivers speeches and they dance until morning.

*Sixth day.*—All bathe in the creek. They eat food that has been salted and serve their visitors.

*Seventh day.*—The visitors leave. The town chief makes a speech to his own people, who then leave for home.

### THE COWETA BUSK (SECOND INFORMANT) [77a]

*First day.*—All assemble at the square. They dance all night.

*Second day.*—The medicines are gathered. They dance all night.

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[77a] This is the "third informant" cited on page 597.

*Third day.*—The day of feasting; visitors are entertained. The Coweta Indians fast and take medicines four times. The Coweta Indians dance the gun dance. They bathe in the creek.

*Fourth day.*—The fast day proper. The old fireplace is cleaned up and the new fire lighted. Four ears of corn and four fishes are brought to the place and burned. They take medicines four times; after the first time they dance the tcitahaia dance. They eat salted food. The chief makes speeches to them in the evening and they dance all night.

*Fifth day.*—All go home.

### THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK

*First day.*—All assemble.

*Second day.*—The women dance. Materials for the new fire and medicines are procured. They dance at night. The men sleep in the square.

*Third day.*—The men fast. Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, sand spread there, the new fire lighted, four ears of corn put into the fire and the fire distributed. Medicines are prepared and taken; some youths get the stomp dance medicines and take their busk medicines after they come back. All go to dive into the creek. They break their fast. There is an all-night dance.

*Fourth day.*—All rest; later some play ball. There is a feast on green corn and other vegetable foods. A council is held in the evening and directions sent out for a hunt on the following day. An all-night dance follows.

*Fifth day.*—The men go hunting.

*Sixth day.*—A piece of beef is brought and put into the fire. A war dance is held. A feast follows, consisting largely of meat; salt is used.

*Seventh day.*—There is a second fast.

*Eighth day.*—The chief delivers an address to his people and dismisses them for the year.

### THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK (OLDER FORM)

The first two days are the same.

*Third day.*—Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, and sand spread there for fires and to rest the copper shields upon. The shields are washed in the creek and placed on the sand. The fire is lighted, four ears of corn are burned in it, and it is distributed. Asi is prepared and given to the shield bearers. The bearers dance with the shields. Pretended scouts go out and on coming back are given tobacco. There is a stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted.

*Fourth day.*—A gun dance is held, including a mock fight. All bathe in the creek. They rest the remainder of the day. The dumpling dance is sometimes indulged in in the evening.

*Fifth day.*—The men go hunting.

*Sixth day.*—A piece of meat is put into the fire. They bathe in the creek and the "busk is destroyed." The women dance. The old dance is danced. Necessary work is done.

*Seventh day.*—They fast all day. At night there is a stomp dance.

*Eighth day.*—The chief delivers a lecture to the people and they go home.

### THE BUSK DESCRIBED BY ADAIR

*First day.*—The square is thoroughly cleaned and painted; new coverings are made for the seats; the fireplace is cleaned out. A feast follows, the remains of which are afterwards carefully removed. The men are called into the square in the evening to fast.

*Second day.*—The men fast all day. The medicines are taken. Women, children, and men in feeble health fast until noon and then eat.

*Third day.*—Food is brought by the women to the edge of the square where it is taken by the men and eaten, the feast being completed before noon. All of the fires are extinguished, and a new fire is made in the tcokofa. New corn, bear's oil, the pasa, and the ȧsi are put into the fire. The medicine maker ("archi-magus") lectures the people. The women get the new fire and take it home. Six old women dance in the tcokofa. (The ȧsi has been prepared while the above was going on and is taken from time to time.)

*Fourth day.*—The women prepare a great feast. A mock battle is fought. A big dance takes place. All plunge into running water.

Adair is somewhat confusing, inasmuch as he speaks of the ceremony sometimes as lasting four days, sometimes eight.[78] In the enumeration of the eight, the three or four days in which the medicine maker had to fast in preparation may be included. Accounts of the other ceremonies are too fragmentary to be analyzed; the value of the material they contain is principally as illustrative of the rest.

With the preceding may be compared the Yuchi ceremonial as recorded by Doctor Speck. He has begun numbering the days of this ceremony with that which we have called the "day of feasting," making seven in all, but before this is a day of assembling which, if added to the rest, makes the conventional eight. In order to compare this ceremonial more satisfactorily with the others, I shall venture to change the numbering by reckoning the day of assembling as the first.

*First day.*—The people assemble.

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[78] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 109.

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*Second day.*—Materials for the new fire and the medicines are procured. A sumptuous evening meal is served. In the evening the big turtle dance takes place. The town chief delivers a speech.

*Third day.*—The medicine plants are brought to the square. The new fire is lighted. The medicines are prepared. The males of the town are scratched. The medicines are taken. The men go to the creek, wash off their paint, and cleanse their hands, the town chief remaining meanwhile in the square. Some ears of corn are rubbed over the bathers and some are thrown into the fire. The men in the square smoke tobacco. The town chief makes a short speech. Food is brought into the square and eaten, the fast being ended. The fasters retire to their camps to rest. The young boys have a ball game. The young men play ball. They dance all night in the square. (The feather dance is sometimes danced once before and once after taking the medicines; the gun dance was performed in the day by one town and in the evening by another.)

*Fourth day.*—The assembly temporarily disbands, most of the people going to their own homes.

*Fifth day.*—The people remain at home.

*Sixth day.*—The people reassemble at the square.

*Seventh day.*—A feast consisting of meat takes place at noon. At night there is a general dance.

*Eighth day.*—The ceremonial gathering breaks up.

The fourth or fifth day, perhaps both the fourth and the fifth, undoubtedly corresponded to the day spent in hunting mentioned in describing some of the Creek busks. In later times they merely went to the store instead of to the forest.

Some additional remarks may now be made regarding certain features of these busks. First we will take up the medicines. Anciently it is probable that four pots of medicine were used but now the number is reduced to two. The ȧsi was brewed by itself and seems to have been used at a different time during the ceremonies from that in which the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja were taken. One of the chief reasons for giving up ȧsi was the fact that the plant was not readily obtainable in the western homes of the Creeks. The pasa was usually in a pot by itself and it was warmed over a slow fire; in Chiaha the miko hoyanīdja was combined with several other medicines, among which were the ice weed (hitūtȧbi) and cedar, and taken cold. At Tukȧbahchee hitci pȧkpȧgi is used as a "foundation" for the warm medicine or adiloga, and the pasa was put with these, while the miko hoyanīdja was taken cold. The 10 medicines composing the adilō′ga were spiceweed, cedar, strawberry, grapevine, blackberry, mistletoe, horsemint, maremint, everlasting, and a forked oak limb, one of the arms of which while still on the tree had pointed toward the west and the other toward the south. Sometimes they added more medicines, as for instance the dewberry, and for each one they made a mark on the ground. At Eufaula they formerly used the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, but now have given up the pasa. The wormseed, taken just before the busk broke off, was considered a vermifuge. At Kasihta, according to Hawkins, the pasa, which the early writers call "the war physic," was drunk on the afternoon of the first day, while the miko hoyanīdja, and thirteen other medicine plants were put into two pots and taken on the last day.[79] The two bearers of the medicine in that town in later times belonged to the Alligator clan. At Tuskegee two pots of hot medicine were taken, followed by two pots of cold medicine. At Coweta the pasa, miko hoyanīdja, and ȧsi were each mixed in a separate pot. At the Fish Pond town on the morning after the men had finished drinking two men carried medicine to the women for their households. What was left was poured out around the fire. It was thought that the fire would become too hot if the medicine was poured upon it, probably from the magic qualities communicated. On the other hand a Hilibi man said that a little medicine was put on the fire by his own people and the Eufaula Indians to subdue it and in this way reduce the likelihood of fevers during the ensuing year.[80] Anciently the medicine was not poured out in this way, though the custom has been in vogue for some time. At Nuyaka the old fire was put out by two men, one of the Bear and one of the Wind clan, who walked around it four times and then threw medicine on it, after which it was rebuilt and the busk went on. The Mikasuki used pasa, miko hoyanīdja (Mikasuki ayikstánage), adilōga, and ȧsi (Mikasuki ȧsoktce'), but when their square ground in Florida was destroyed by the whites and Coweta they gave up the last.

The following information was vouchsafed by an old Hilibi Indian during the busk at Eufaula:

When the medicine maker blows into the medicine all of the men in the beds are very quiet and attentive and are absorbed in what is going on. When he blows, the god that is in him goes into the medicine from the soul of the blower. He always blows facing the east so as to see the rising sun over the fire, for the fire was thought to be an important and useful thing which the Indians did not create but which was given them by God, and it was reverenced accordingly. The miko hoyanīdja is taken to ward off ills, to act as a kind of wall about the people against pestilence or any kind of disease. The mashed medicine should be taken home after the busk and used in cases of sickness. The pasa is "for the coldness of the corn." It is thought to be especially for the children and is put on the heads and hands of women, children, and men. Properly it is not a medicine but a thank offering for the corn of the preceding year.

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[79] See pp. 577-578.

[80] See also Adair's description, p. 596.

The new fire at Eufaula is now lighted with a match, but earlier flint and steel were used and still earlier two sticks of wood. Jackson Lewis said that the lower stick was taken from a tree called afoslibakfa which looks something like a pawpaw and the bark of which may be stripped up from the root very readily (wahu tree—Loughridge). The twirling stick was a piece of cane. Six or seven men took turns at this and sometimes Jackson Lewis affirmed that a bow was used. The fire is now carried down to the camps but not to the homes. Pope, whose acquaintance was particularly with Broken Arrow, says that the base stick was a dry piece of poplar and the twirling stick a stick of sassafras, and that the fire making was done by the medicine maker.[61] This appears to have been the usual ancient custom. Bartram mentions the addition of resin as an aid in fire production.[62] Jackson Knight, who belonged to the western Abihka town, affirmed that the four foundation sticks were intended to point to the entries, as was also the case with the Tukabahchee sticks.

The busk dances may be summarized as follows:

*Itcha obànga,*[63] *called in Eufaula ni'ta obànga (the daylight dance).*—This is the women's dance which took place on the day just before the fast day proper. The atasa and attachments carried by the leading women seem to indicate that this was originally a scalp or war dance, and this view is strengthened by the fact that at Nuyaka the management of it was in the hands of the occupants of the south bed, all of whom belonged to Tciloki or war clans. On the other hand, at Eufaula it was conducted by the White clans.

*Tcitahaia, popularly known as the "feather dance" because the dancers have canes in their hands with feathers fastened at the ends.*—This is distinctly a peace dance. At Tukabahchee the feathers were attached to the canes by members of the Bird clan, and in some towns they were feathers of the little white heron (fus hàtka) or the white crane. In Tukabahchee only the White clans carried feathers of this kind, the Tciloki carrying eagle feathers. The song accompanying it is said to have been obtained by a certain man from the summer crane. He was traveling along in a certain place, heard this song, and wondered for a long time what caused it, but finally discovered that it was a crane. The entire dance was also under the supervision of the White clans, and nowadays it is said that the feathers and the dance both typify the peace with the American Government, while the clearing out of the white yard signifies that they are true to the obligations of that treaty. I was told that when the Tukabahchee danced the feather dance, which they no longer do, when they took up their feathered canes, they rubbed out the prints made by the butt ends of the wands with the soles of their feet.

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[61] Pope, Tour, p. 55.

[62] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.

[63] This word is confounded by Hawkins with Itcs'. "gun." See p. 578.

796 *Obânga tcâpko, "the long dance."*—This was danced in the evening. At Tukabahchee it was danced on the evening of the third day, the dancers carrying feathered wands as in the feather dance, and it was also danced on the afternoon of that day, the dancers holding the shields. It is not now much used.

*Tabotcka obânga, "the gun dance."*—This was usually danced early in the morning after the fast day and took place on the ball ground. In this dance firearms were discharged, and human effigies were made and shot at. Sometimes they painted these with pokeberry juice, made them look as if they had been wounded or killed, and carried them out in that condition. The presentation was frequently so realistic that the uninitiated were very much frightened.

*Obânga atcūli, "the old dance."*—This was danced on the evening of the fast day after the fast was over and marked the time when the fasters were perfectly free. It was, however, danced only by the men, who at that time wore tortoise-shell rattles on their legs.

*Obânga hadjo, "the drunken dance."*—This was danced on the night after the preceding and usually when the concourse was ready to break up.

*Paihka obânga, "the war dance."*—This was danced at the time of the first stomp dance of the season at Tukabahchee by a man named itci yahola.[83a]

The dumpling dance was sometimes danced for amusement at Tukabahchee on the evening of the fourth day.

Anciently Hawkins tells us that the turkey dance was performed by women of the Turkey clan on the first day of the busk and later on the same day came the tadpole and henīha dances, the latter at night.[84]

Many other dances, especially the animal dances, were introduced on the last night. They began then with the common or stomp dance (sătkita obânga) which lasted until about midnight, after which the animal dances were introduced and continued until morning.

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Speeches were usually made by the chief's yatika, but the war speaker (holibonaia) might be called upon on occasions of national emergency and if any good speaker was known to be present among the visitors he would be invited to address the assemblage. According to one man a tástânági was chosen to make a speech several times during the night of the general dance, and according to another speeches were made by men of the Tcilokis, but it was the general opinion that the yatika was chosen from any clan. Before he spoke a man would spit four times very deliberately to each side and repeat a formula. Formal speeches usually began with the word Ta-a-a intuká'stci, "Now everybody's attention."

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[83a] See p. 557.

[84] See pp. 577-578.

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These speeches were couched in a particular form, contained certain peculiar words, and were uttered in a rhythmic manner which may be likened to the intoning of a religious service. The late Chief G. W. Grayson, of Eufaula, Okla., supplied a short speech after the ancient type which is incorporated herewith. Such a speech was known as the "long talk" and it was delivered by the chief's yatikå or "long talker" just before the women danced the Itcha obånga or "daylight dance."[83a] Mr. Grayson says: "You will notice the speaker often ends his sentences with 'he says so,' because the chief never makes a public address. You will understand that this is not a stereotyped copy of a talk that would in every instance be delivered at such a gathering, but *about* such as I have often heard, only this is abbreviated, as it fails to touch upon many subjects usually included in such talks. . . As I have told you, if this style of public speaking was ever the only way the Creeks spoke, it is now long since obsolete, except at the 'busks' and just before entering the ball play." Mr Grayson has kindly furnished both a line for line and a free translation of this speech, the original being in the official Creek orthography.[83b]

## TEXT WITH INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

Ta intukvstai!
1. Hayomate:
   Now:
2. Momet umvres en kuhmit?
   Thus it shall be I thought for them,
3. Tvsekvyv tate netta-kvcekv em vrucicit omvyenken
   and caused broken days to go about among the men.
4. Tvsekvyv, cuku-lice elkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket
   and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number
   left of death
5. "Upunvkvn okvtetisos" vn kuhmit
   "He meant talk" they thought of me
6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken hecvyofv,
   My dooryard they two have come in when I see
7. "Muntos komit es vm ahlvpvtke estvmahet os," maket omes ce.
   So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:
8. Momen hvyomate?
   And now.
9. Pun cuku-pericvlke fullvranet omes.
   Our visitors will go about among us.
10. Momen ometo estomis.
   Even if that shall be.

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[83a] See p. [illegible].
[83b] This system has the following peculiarities: v=ă (a obscure); r=ł (surd l); e=i; i=ai; c=ts.

11. Mvnnetvlke afvcketv eten haye omet,
The young sporting among themselves.
12. Etepelice omis mome ocet omes.
Laughing at each other they ofttimes do.
13. Mv tat momen umekares;
That must not be.
14. "Vnen ukhoyis omes" komvranat ocet ometokv,
"They probably mean me" because they may think.
15. Mvt momen umekares maket omesce.
That must not be, so he says.
16. Munkv este e vhericet.
Therefore the people must be careful of themselves.
17. Tak kaket umvres;
As they two sit down;
18. Momen enhesse take em vlaket unt on omatehkvn.
And if their friends shall come to them.
19. Humpetv hulwakusat en kvlepet.
Victuals no matter how humble, you must break with them.
20. Umvranet omes komis maket omesce.
Is the way I want it to be, so he says.
21. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
22. Este en hesse take.
Person's friends.
23. Hupvye estvmahen sehokvteto estomis.
Although they two may have stood very far away.
24. Hvyomat em veukuperet.
If they are now visiting them.
25. Em fullet unt on omatehkvn.
And going about among them.
26. Vhericet vcecket.
Take care to shake hands with them.
27. Em vpelet.
Laugh with him.
28. Etem punahoyet omvres.
Talk with him they should.
29. Maket omesce.
So he says.
30. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
31. Vmvculke sehokof.
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afvcketvt omvtetis.
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vntatehkvn es cvhuse ome hakvtet unt omis.
And although I have about forgotten it.

34. Hvyomat vhuckapkuse tayate.
Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvcketv hayit.
Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.
And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osce.
Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvcketv tat.
And the interned-in-the-house, amusement.
39. En hayvrabvyet omes, maketos.
For them I shall provide, so he says.
40. Munkv cuku-lice a.
Therefore the interned in the house.
41. Awet estomet em vculvke tate em afvcketvt omvte.
They must come up, how their old ones that were, their amusement was.
42. En kerket ometokv.
As it is known to them.
43. A awet vsehoket umvres maket omesce.
They must come up and stand by it, so he says!

## FREE TRANSLATION

I deemed it proper for our people, and a few days since caused notice (broken days) to be given out among them; and when I see so many men and women who have been spared from death and who have heeded my notice, and come into the public square, I am greatly pleased, he says. And now we will have visitors coming to be with us to enjoy with us these exercises. We are glad to have them and when they come, let there be no loud and boisterous laughing indulged in by our young people, lest the visitors construe such hilarity as having been excited by their appearance and thereby be made to feel embarrassed. This must not be. Our people therefore are enjoined to keep close watch over themselves, doing nothing that the visitor might become offended at while we are here. And if friends shall come to your camp, you are enjoined to set before them such scanty table fare as you are able to offer, be it ever so little.

You will doubtless be visited by friends living in distant parts of the country; when they shall come you are asked to give them the glad hand of friendship, laugh and talk with, and make them feel perfectly welcome; this is my desire. And now, when my old people practiced their old customs in their entirety, the purpose for which we meet here to-day was their joy and glory. And although I have well-nigh forgotten those beloved customs, I shall at least attempt a semblance of them as best I may, and continue in the performance

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to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hōmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikági doiyát ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyát ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nági, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łáko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łálogálga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stági ("people of Coosa"). The Pákán tallahassee used the word Pákana.

## SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

### General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[illegible] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

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[illegible] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.

757 had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*."[51]

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina."[52]

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, [844] they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously."[53]

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

•796 Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilised by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in each house made of matting of cane wove together with bark. In the centre of the square they have a fire, which is not suffered to go out during the year. At the time of the *Busk* every family in the town is obliged to put out their fire at home and go to the Busking ground and encamp." He was, as we know, misinformed regarding the fire, which was kept up only during the ceremonial period. He now proceeds to describe the doings of the first day as follows:

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[51] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.

[52] Ibid., pp. 44-47.

[53] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 276.

"The *Busk* is a religious ceremony, to return thanks to the Great Spirit for their abundant crops of Corn, and might be called their sacrament, as it is observed with the utmost strictness and self-denial. The first day of the ceremony was commenced by the women dancing. They gave us the highest seat in the synagogue, where we could see every thing that was going on. The little King, or Chief of the town, with three others, took their seats upon the cane mats at one corner of the square, and in a few moments after they were seated, four gourds were brought to them on a server made of cane, which was painted white with a kind of clay, and contained small round seeds. Each man took one and they then commenced singing and keeping time with the gourds, the women at the same time coming into the square in Indian file, marched up in front and faced the singers. After they had come in to the number of one hundred and fifty, the singing ceased, and the speaker gave them a 'talk,' the substance of which, I am sorry to say I am unable to give you, as we had no interpreter by us at that time. At the conclusion of the speech the singing again commenced, and the four old women who led the dance, each holding a stick about a foot long, painted red and ornamented with Eagle's feathers, commenced beating time. The King gave a signal by the shake of the gourd, and they all immediately faced about and commenced beating time with their feet. About fifty of them wore terrapin shells upon their legs, which are made in the following manner: They boil the terrapin, extract all the meat, and then fill it with small pebble stones. Ten or twelve of these are fastened in a semicircular form upon a piece of Buffalo skin, and tied upon the leg just above the knee. They generally wear one on each leg, and in dancing they all keep perfect time, and it is impossible to conceive what a rattling noise they make. Another double shake of the gourd, and they all commenced dancing around the fire in the centre of the square. In this way they continued dancing incessantly for two hours, the sun shining full upon them, and the thermometer ranging from 90 to 100 in the shade. Their dresses defy description. Out of the whole number I could not designate two of the same figure. They were principally of calico and cotton of their own manufacture. They were made in a style peculiar to the Creeks and Seminoles. The border is made to hang loose, and detached from the skirt. The skirt is tied around the waist, and is worked to the depth of 12 or 15 inches from the bottom with different colors, in various devices. On these occasions they always put on all and the best they have. I saw one woman near our camp put on five dresses. They wore a great many ornaments, such as beads, earrings, hair-combs, etc. I saw one woman with ten pair of silver ear-rings in her ears, four pounds of large blue and white beads around her neck, silver armbands upon her arms, and about ten yards of different colored ribbons flowing from the top of her head. While the women were dancing the men were all seated in the houses forming the square, feasting upon boiled meat, potatoes, honey and water-mellons. They asked us if we had eaten any green corn this season; we replied that we had. They then told us if we had not eaten corn we could have eaten with them, but if we had eaten of it we could not, for it would spoil their physic, and offend the Great Spirit. Thus passed the first day of the Busk. . . ."

Dickerman promised to continue his description of the ceremony in later letters but unfortunately they are not available to me.

624 the entire Creek Nation. It was the position occupied by Hobohiłi Yâhola, famous leader of the Creeks during their removal west and all of their subsequent troubled history until the Civil War. He was not a miko even of one town, but his influence was actually greater than that of any miko, or any number of them. There were two ta'pala, whose chief function was to act as messengers before and during the women's dance, and there were two singers for the women (inyahaikâlgi, "singers for them"), who sat at the end of one of the cabins just in front of the spot where the women began dancing. They were usually selected for their knowledge of songs rather than on account of their clan affiliations. The hilis haya was the head priestly functionary. He supervised the preparation of the medicines and gave them their final potency and he ordered everything in any way touching upon the supernatural. He was assisted by one or more men called hilis tcâlaba or "medicine mixers," whose functions are defined by the name, and by two or more young men called hilis hoboia, "medicine gatherers," who collected the red root, pasa, and other plants that went into the sacred medicine. Some towns seem to have had a separate official called tutka dīdja, "fire builder," to start the fire, but in others the hilis haya did that, and there was instead a tutka oktidīdja, "gatherer of wood" for the fire. A number of boys known as oidjawâlgi brought water for the medicines. In one town we learn of ahaga haiyâlgi, "law makers," who are said to carry out the instructions of the tâstânâgis and may be identical with the imałas elsewhere mentioned. There were also officers called simiabaia, or "leaders." The hoktâgi immiko, "chief of the women," and his henīha, may have been identical with the ta'palas. Anciently the tâstânâgis and their assistants acted as town police, but nowadays three or four light horsemen are selected at random to police the square ground during ceremonies, and there are boys called "dog whippers" with long whips stationed at each opening into the square during the women's dance to drive away dogs. Many of these officers were chosen for four years only. If one died before the expiration of his term, a substitute was selected from the same clan, which seems to indicate that the position was something of a clan prerogative.

716 Of the ceremonies which took place on these grounds, only two have survived. One, called by the popular local name of "stomp dance," was confined to the people of the town and was simple in character, the miko hoyanīdja (red willow) being ordinarily the only medicine used during it. There were no dances other than the common and relatively secular ones, no ceremonial lighting of the fires, no

ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual 796
to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually.

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

## ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, 344
or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself 621
near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was 796
made from the southwest.

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tȧdjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin for the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

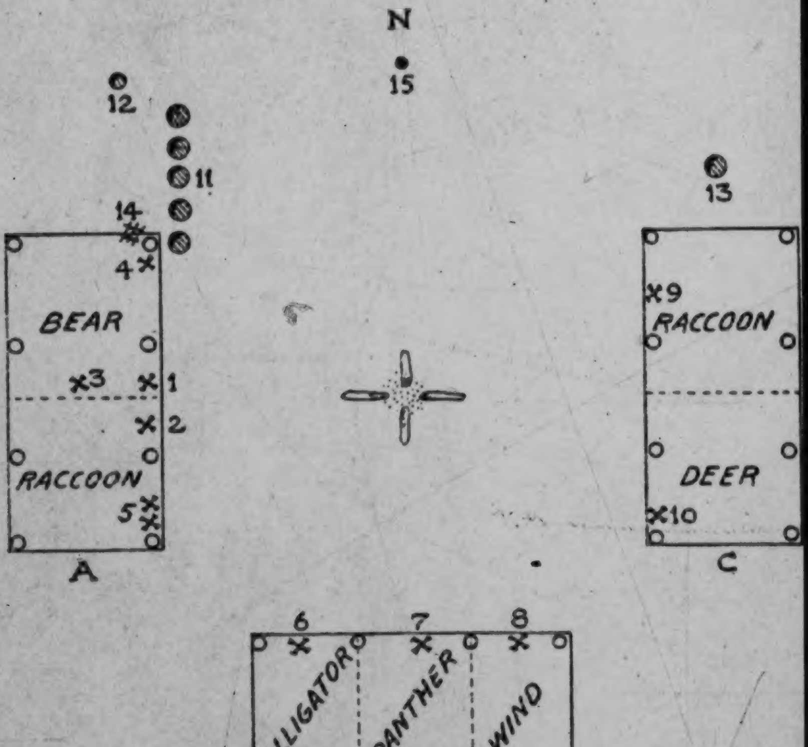

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcálaba; 5, yáhaikas (any clan). B. Henihas' Bed (henihálgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind). C. Warriors' Bed (tástánágálgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dīdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokábi).

It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanīdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wīlana ("wormseed"), and hobága ("maypop"); tcato hàtki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of 344
spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon 621
for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers: 796

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Tcûktcât Henîha |
| henîha | Itchas Hadjo |
| hilis tcálaba | Konip Yâhola |
| ta'pala | Katca Tâstânâgi |
| " | Kona Yâhola |
| tutka dîdja | Tâstânâkutci |
| asimbonaia | Wotko Fiksiko |
| " | Kapitca Hadjo |

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

## OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcálaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

344
621
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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

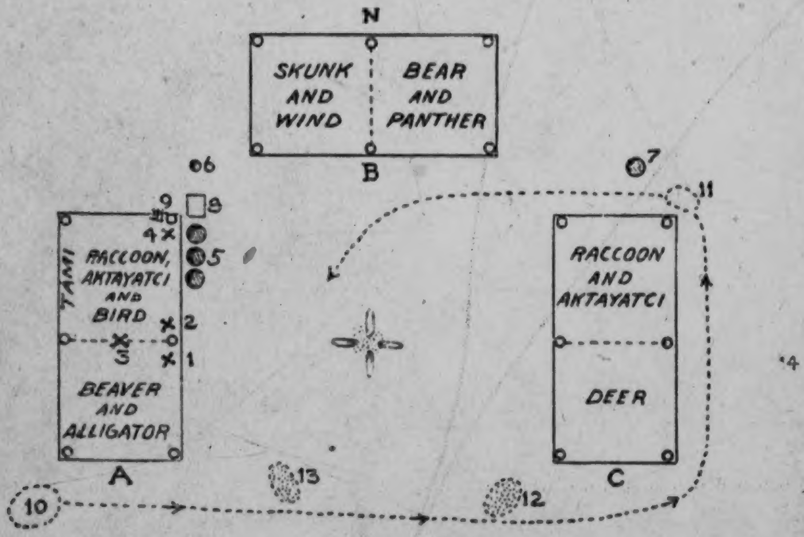

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above 344
a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession. 621

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, 796 Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tàmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

## LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

| | |
|---|---|
| tàstànàgi łako | Ispani Tàstànàgi |
| tàstànàgi | Kapitca Tàstànàgi |
| " | Lata Miko (controls the two above) |
| ahaga haiyàlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tàstànàgis) | Kapitca Tàstànàgi (Aktayatci), and Tàmi Tàstànàgi (Tàmi) |
| simiabaia | Kàntcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name) |
| hilis haya | Miko Tcàpko (Beaver) |
| hilis tcàlaba | Tàmi Yàhola (Tàmi) |
| tutka oktidjdja | Tàmàłàkutci (Tàmi) |

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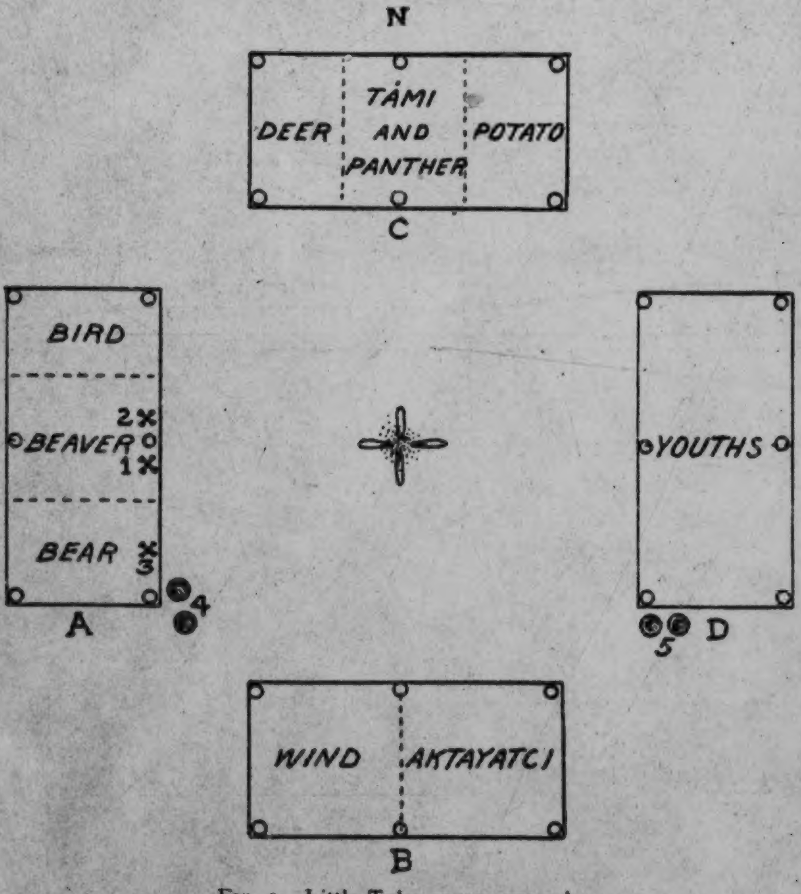
N
DEER
TÁMI AND PANTHER
POTATO
C
BIRD
2×
BEAVER
1×
BEAR
×3
4
A
YOUTHS
5
D
WIND
AKTAYATCI
B

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, heñiha; 3, simiabaia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
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| | |
|---|---|
| ta'pala | Nokos Fiksiko (Bear) |
| " | Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi) |
| yâhaikas | Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi) |
| Captain of the Light Horsemen | Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi) |
| Light Horsemen | Oktcân Hadjo (Bear)<br>Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver)<br>Kapitcutci (Aktayatci) |

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

## NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dīdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imalas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his henīha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Ṭcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanīdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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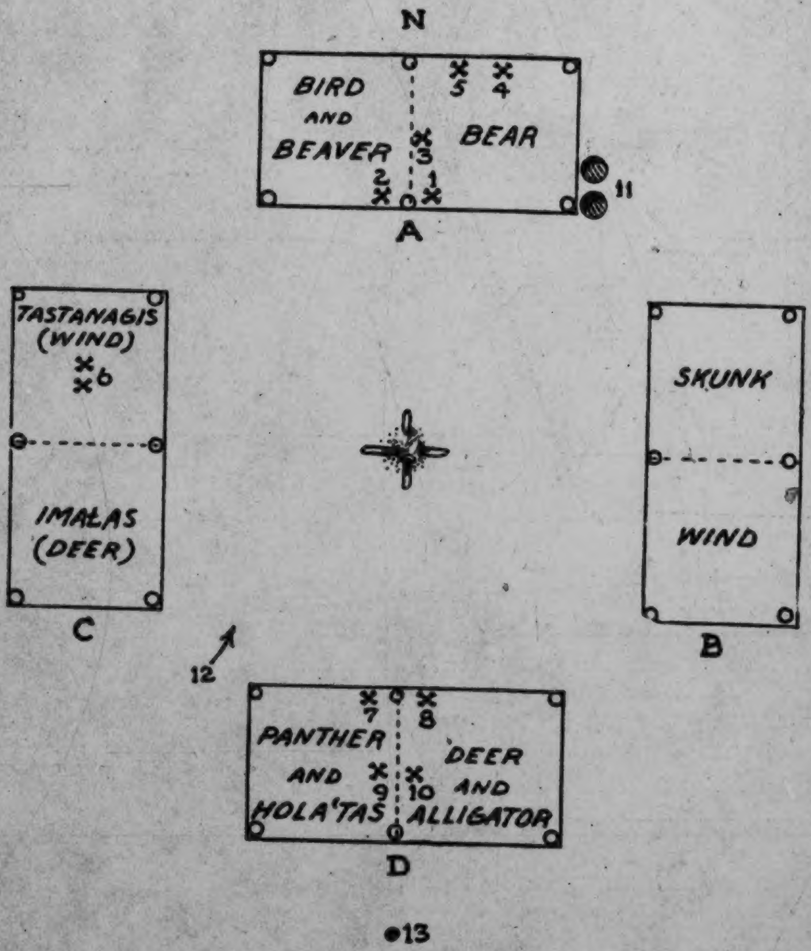
N
BIRD AND BEAVER
BEAR
1
2
3
4
5
11
A
TASTANAGIS (WIND)
6
IMAŁAS (DEER)
C
SKUNK
WIND
B
12
PANTHER AND HOLA'TAS
DEER AND ALLIGATOR
7
8
9
10
D
13

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcȧlaba (Alligator); 5, tutka dīdja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tȧstȧnȧgis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogȧlgi intupa), or Tȧsikaias' Bed (Tȧsikaiȧlgi intupa): 7, hoktȧgi immiko (Aktayatci); 8, henīha for hoktȧgi immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk. 344

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The present officers are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Nokos Miko |
| heniha | Miko Tcàpko |
| hilis haya | Tàstànàkutci |
| tutka oktidīdja | Hotàlgi Hadjudji |
| hilis tcàlaba | Lōdja Yàhola |
| hoktàgi immiko | Wotko Yàhola |

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcàsi, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, heniha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

## PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcàlaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tàsikaiàlgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tàstànàgàlgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hàthagàlgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tàstànàgàlgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of làksàfàskàlgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogàlgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagàgi intupa. The Deer and Pahosàlgi were formerly called the imalàgàlgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tàstànàgis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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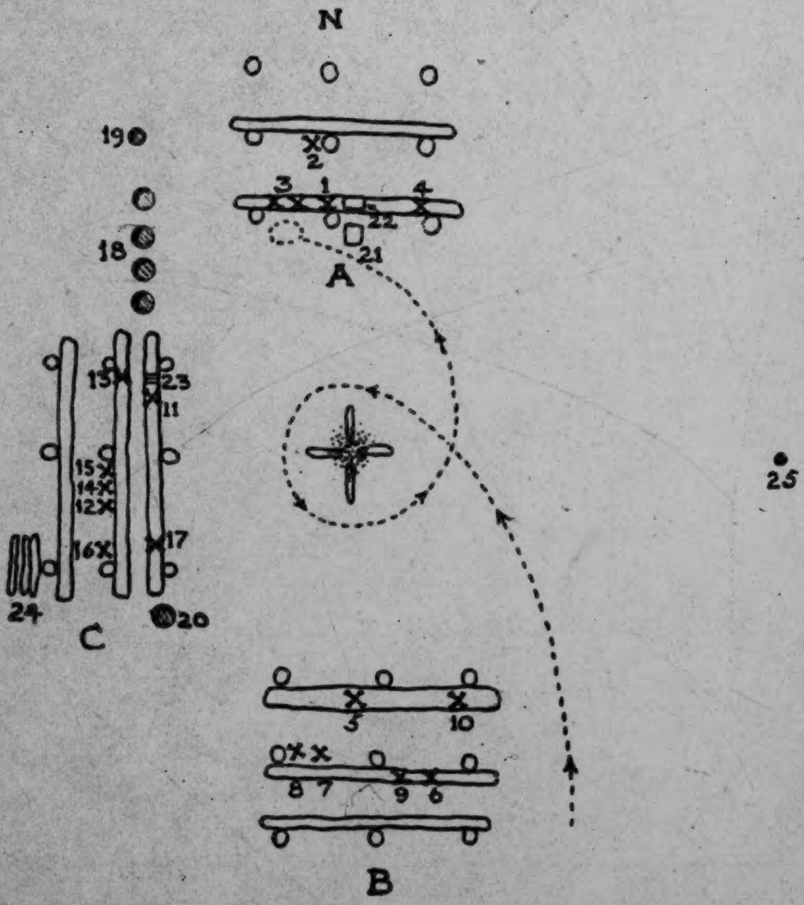

FIG. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oīdjawa (Bird); 9, oīdjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktidīdja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oīdjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position): 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

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In this town,[1] the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, 344
Tàmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, 621
and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 796

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were 526
the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird) |
| asimbonaia | Tàstànàk Imała (Deer) |
| " | Tàstànàk Hadjo (Bird) |
| hilis haya | Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther) |
| hilis tcàlaba | Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer) |
| oīdjawàlgi | 1. Fus Yàholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)<br>2. Hotàlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)<br>3. Halàk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry) |
| hilis hoboia | 1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)<br>2. Tàlsi Yàhola (Bird) |
| ta‘pa‘la | 1. Halàk Yàhoła ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon) |
| " | 2. Hotàlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind) |
| tutka oktidīdja | Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer) |
| yàhaīkas | 1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated) |
| " | 2. Miko Yàhoła (Bear) |

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atàsa held by the leading woman is 344
red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is 621
white and has a feather of the fus hàtki ("white bird"), a bird 796
found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta‘palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called sī'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end.

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[1] [i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. --Analyst]

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621
796

About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokâbi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

## WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcâlaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henīha is taken by a tâstânâgi. Indeed all of the tâstânâgis are considered the same as the henīhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tâstânâgi is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atâsa. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanīdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama. Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

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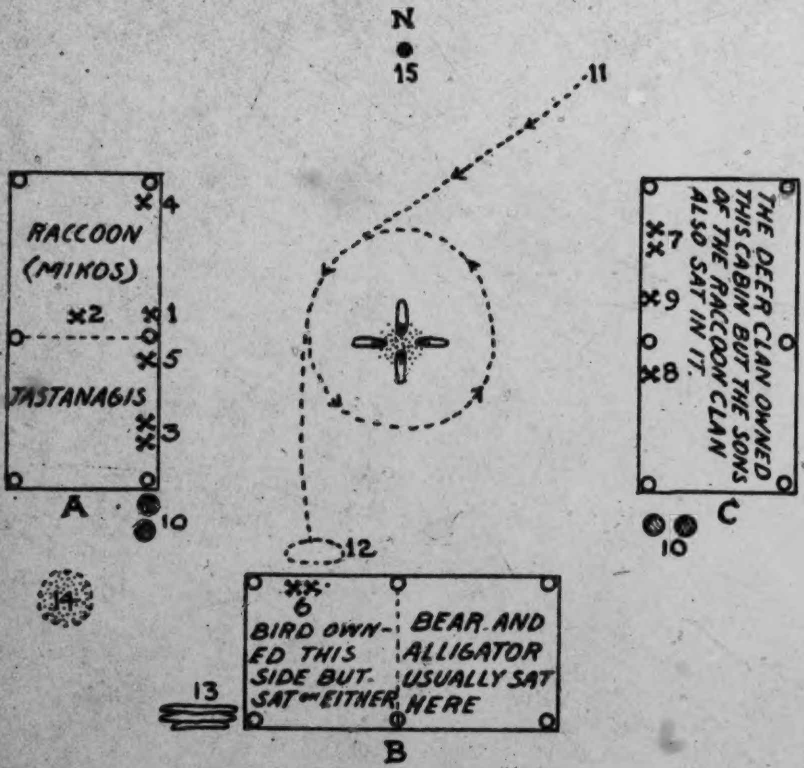
N
15
11
4
RACCOON (MIKOS)
×2
1
5
TASTANAGIS
3
A
10
12
14
13
6
BIRD OWNED THIS SIDE BUT SAT ON EITHER
BEAR AND ALLIGATOR USUALLY SAT HERE
B
THE DEER CLAN OWNED THIS CABIN BUT THE SONS OF THE RACCOON CLAN ALSO SAT IN IT.
7
9
8
C
10

Fig. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánági (instead of heniha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka oktididja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

## OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter.

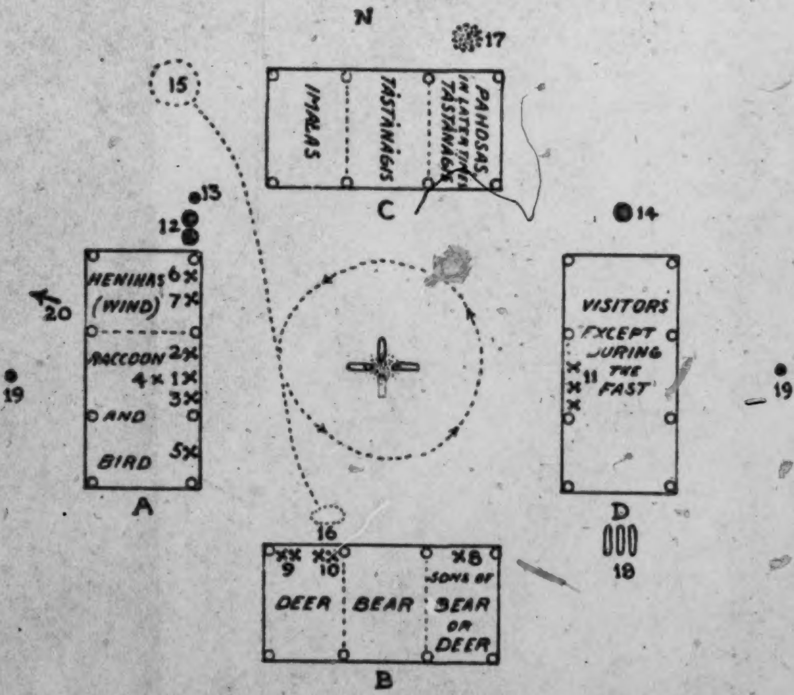
N
17
15
IMALAS
TASTANAGIS
PAHOSAS IN LATER TIMES TASTANAGIS
C
13
12
14
HENIHAS (WIND)
6
7
RACCOON
2
4
1
3
AND
BIRD
5
20
19
A
VISITORS EXCEPT DURING THE FAST
11
19
D
18
16
9
10
8
SONS OF
DEER
BEAR
BEAR OR DEER
B

Fig. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, henīha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta‘pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidīdja (Wind).

B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta‘pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yáhaikas (any clan).

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. Youths' Bed: 11, oidjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women: 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta‘pala, and tutka oktidīdja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidīdja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
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621
796

The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łȧłogȧlga and Ȧsilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tȧstȧnȧgis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łȧłogȧlga and Ȧsilanabi.

### ŁAŁOGȦLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcȧlaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atàsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcàto hàtkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

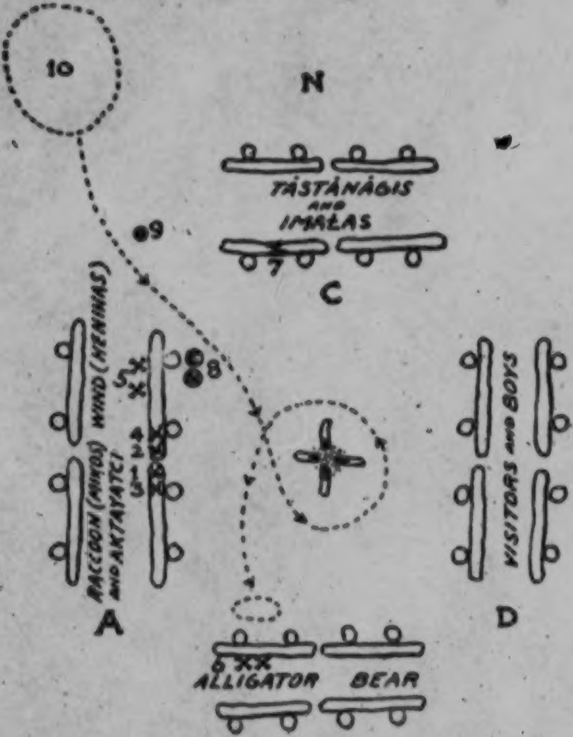
10
N
TASTANAGIS AND IMALAS
9
7
C
WIND (HENIHAS)
RACCOON (MIKOS) AND AKTAYATCI
5
8
4
2
1
3
VISITORS AND BOYS
D
A
6
ALLIGATOR
BEAR
B

Fig. 8.—The square ground of Lalogàlga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henīha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hobois.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa); 6, yàhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidīdja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so. 344 621

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tástánági as the town miko. 796

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Lapłáko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Ȧsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Ȧsilanabi is older than Łálogálga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more det[illegible] the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Ȧsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tciloki. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

## TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tástánágis is indeterminate. The toba mawīdine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

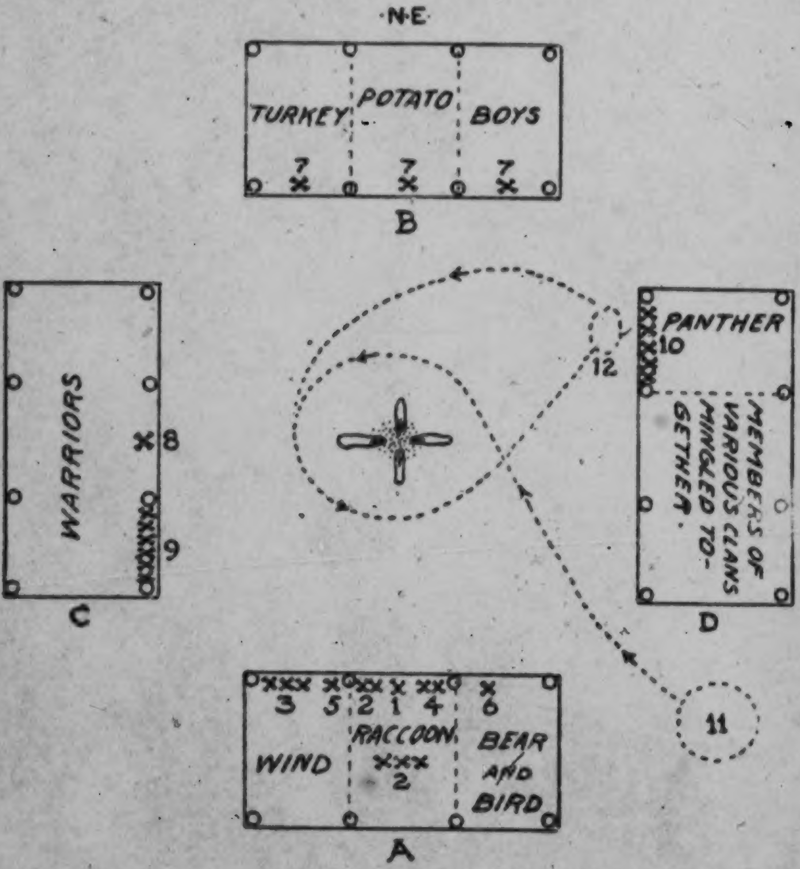
N·E
TURKEY
POTATO
BOYS
7
7
7
B
WARRIORS
8
9
C
PANTHER
10
12
MEMBERS OF VARIOUS CLANS MINGLED TO-GETHER.
D
11
3
5
2
1
4
6
WIND
RACCOON
2
BEAR AND BIRD
A

Fig. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henihas (Wind); 4, henihas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidine.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tástánági łákálgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibánágálgi intupa): 10, yáhaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.,* the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tȧsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The hoḷibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tȧstȧnȧgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcȧlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tȧsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atȧsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atȧsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

## KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon) |
| henīha | Henīha Imałutci (Wind) |
| miko apokta | Kayomulgi (Raccoon) |
| hoktâgi immiko | Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon) |
| henīha | Oīkas Hadjo (Wind) |
| asimbonaia | Kōsa Fīksiko (Bear) |
| ta'pala | Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear) |
| " | Alak Hadjutci (Turkey) |
| hilis tcâlaba | Kân Tcati (Wind) |
| " " | Itco Imała Fīksiko (Deer) |
| tutka oktidīdja | Ahali Imała |
| hilis hoboia | Tâlkōna Hadjo (Wind) |
| " " | Hotâlgi Fīksiko (Wind) |
| tâstânâgi | Tâstânâk Tcâpko |
| " | Tâstânâkutci |
| " | Inheniha (= henīha) |
| " | Tâlkōna Hadjo |

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

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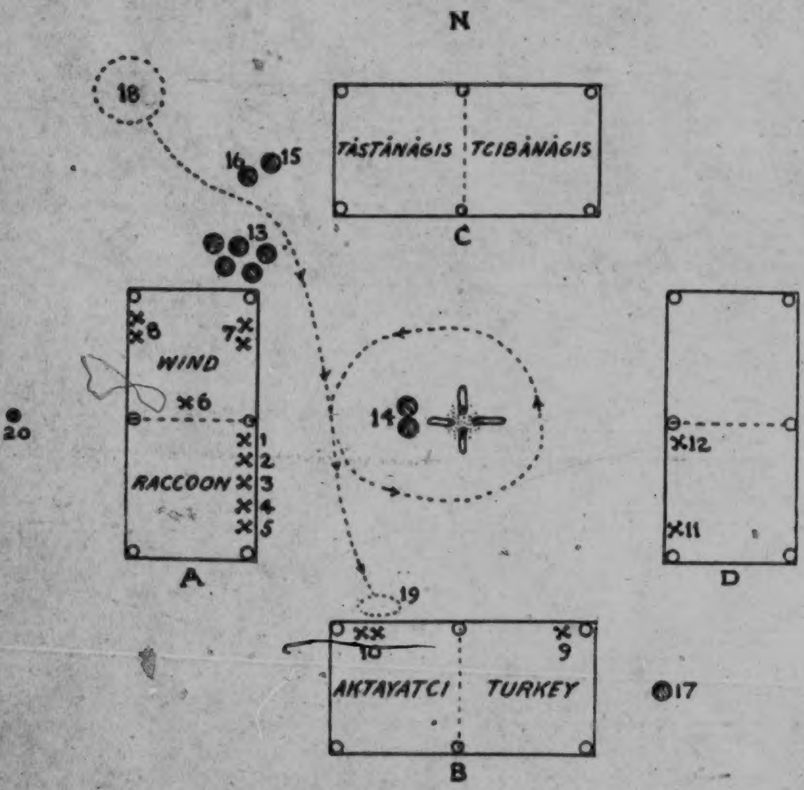

Fig. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henīha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktági immiko (Raccoon); 5, henīha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcâlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).
B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yâhaikas.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tâmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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### ŁAPŁÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

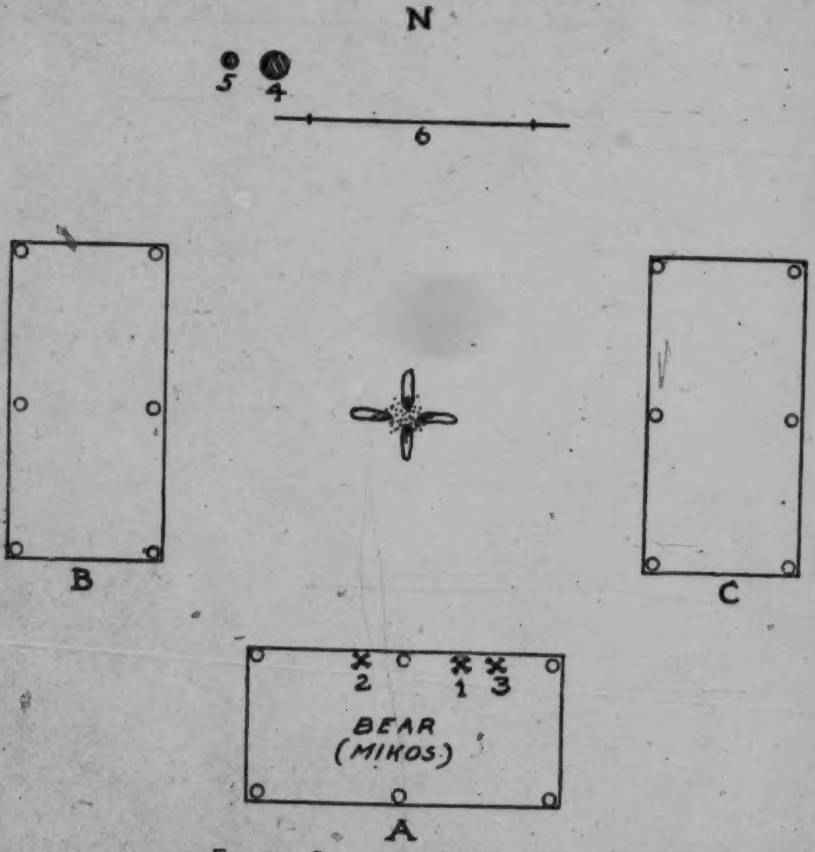

FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łapłàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatikà (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town.

The Hathagas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłako, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tålipoła, which means "foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłåko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłåko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłåko had an Atasi Indian named Hotålgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłåko in former times was Jim Boy (Tåstånågi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcȧlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikȧlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta‘pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonă'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two ta‘pala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

## HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The ta‘palas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atâsa.

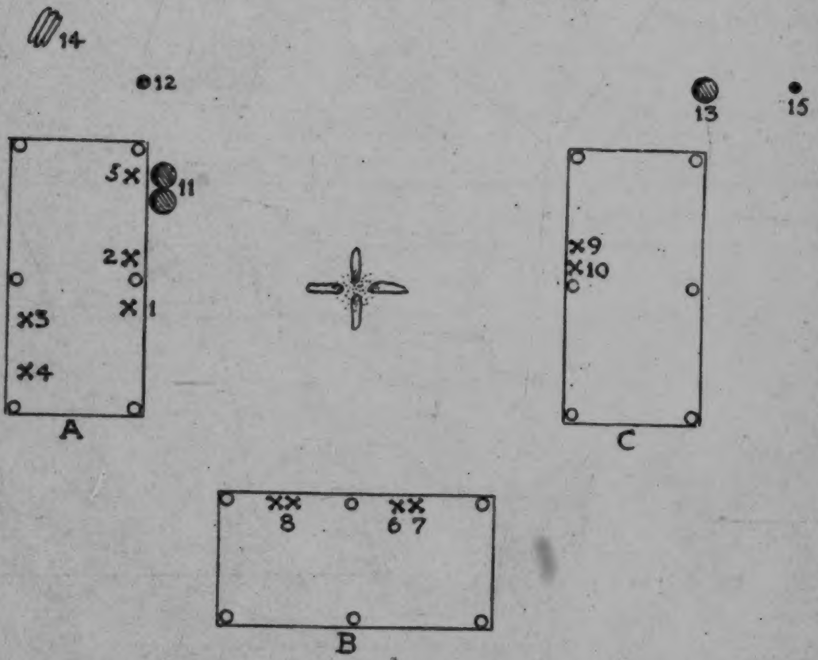

Fig. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcâlaba (Bear in 1929).
B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktidīdja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yâhaikas (any clan).
C. Cabin used by visitors:- 9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).
11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

## ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktâyatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kȧntcati Yȧhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

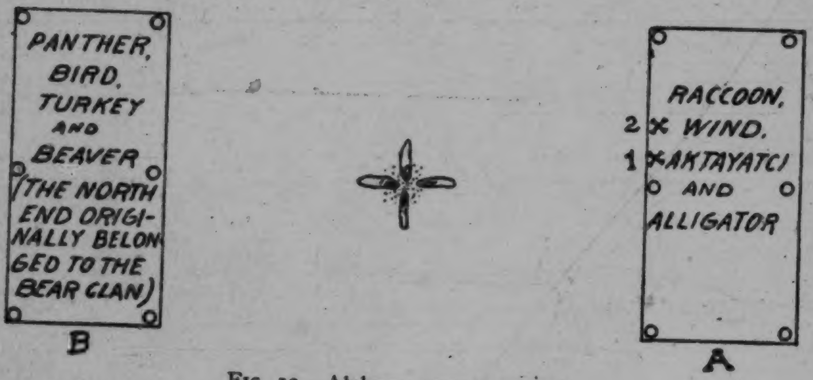
PANTHER, BIRD, TURKEY AND BEAVER (THE NORTH END ORIGINALLY BELONGED TO THE BEAR CLAN)
B
RACCOON,
2 × WIND,
1 × AKTAYATCI
AND
ALLIGATOR
A

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, henīha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

## KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcȧlaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12,-1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

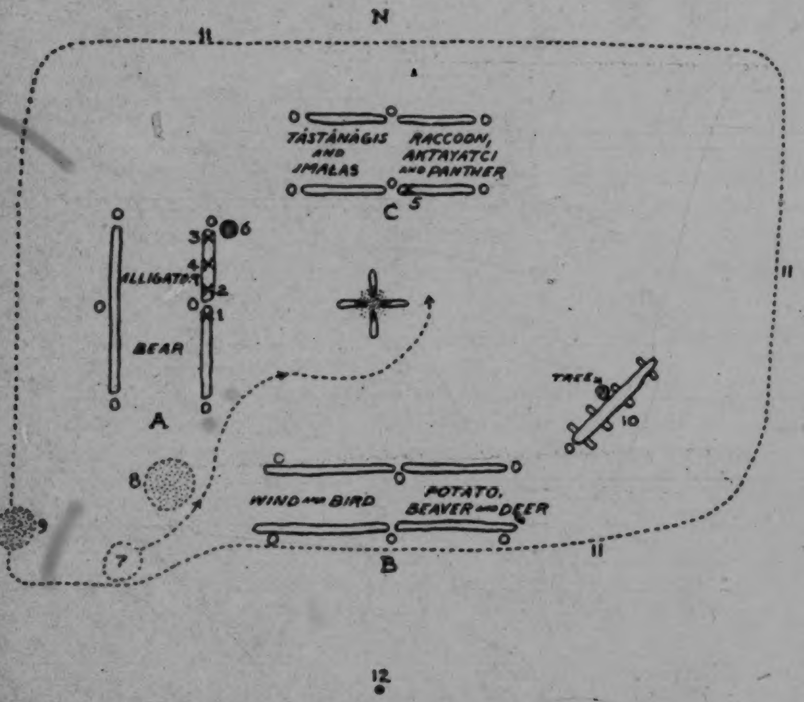

FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihálgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tádjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

344 621 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all marry outside of third cousins.

796 The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 173 The following information will be interesting to those who wish to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

177 609 He added:

> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

## GENEALOGIES

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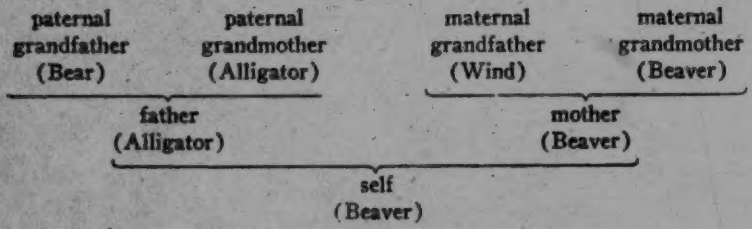
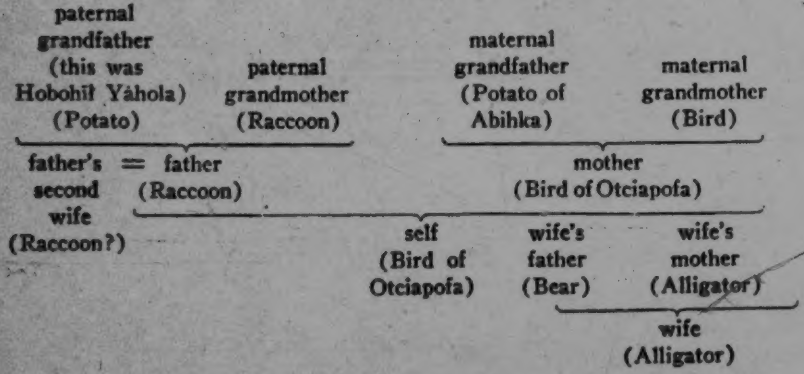
The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłako; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohił Yȧhola.


paternal grandfather (Bear)
paternal grandmother (Alligator)
maternal grandfather (Wind)
maternal grandmother (Beaver)
father (Alligator)
mother (Beaver)
self (Beaver)


paternal grandfather (this was Hobohił Yȧhola) (Potato)
paternal grandmother (Raccoon)
maternal grandfather (Potato of Abihka)
maternal grandmother (Bird)
father's second wife (Raccoon?)
=
father (Raccoon)
mother (Bird of Otciapofa)
self (Bird of Otciapofa)
wife's father (Bear)
wife's mother (Alligator)
wife (Alligator)

## CONCLUSION

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The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an
attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the
being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well
defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe.
Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

771 The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not,
776 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the
mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some
supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous
spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in,
it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was
a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi,
"the breath controller," and also Ibofánga, "the one above," and
that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the
[177] great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was
not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there
is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the
supreme being of the Creeks.

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[For seating arrangements at ceremonials in square grounds, see category 621]